THE CLASSICS IN THE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE CLASSROOM

DISPUTATIO

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THE CLASSICS IN THE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE CLASSROOM

The Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books

Edited by

Juanita Feros Ruys, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth



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We dedicate this volume to the late

Virginia Brown (1940–2009)

editor supreme, palaeographer extraordinaire, gifted teacher and supervisor, and great enthusiast for the Classics in later ages.

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- Figure 2, p. 373. Erasmus argued for Terence as an ideal source for portrayal of character. From *Terentius cum directorio vocabularium sententiarum artis comice, glosa interlineali, comentarijs, Donato Guido Ascensio* (Strasbourg: Grüniger, 1499).

THE CLASSICS IN THE CLASSROOM — AN INTRODUCTION

John O. Ward

he aim of the volume is to examine classroom texts and practice in medieval and Renaissance times. The focus is intended to be on the relationship between extant manuscripts, incunables, and cinquecentine of classical works and on works written in those periods such as commentaries and notes upon the classical works. Our emphasis is upon what was used in classrooms and on the relicts of those classrooms, as well as on the actual procedure, format, and content of the classrooms that used and produced the manuscripts, incunables, and cinquecentine in question. A concentration upon the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) is intended, and on the place of the Graeco-Roman works relevant to these studies in the medieval and Renaissance classrooms. This concentration upon the trivium can be justified in terms of the importance of trivium studies for all aspects of intellectual life in the Middle Ages.

The centrality of the curriculum arts of the trivium from Carolingian times onwards was reinforced by questions relating to God, humanity, and human knowledge that increasingly challenged thinkers. The arts of the trivium came to play an important role in devising and implementing answers to these and other questions in the High Middle Ages and later. But the classics did not live on solely because they became an important adjunct to understanding the language of the Bible and theology. They came to occupy an important role in their own right as a major introduction to developing a facility in ornamental high language useful in the daily rounds of church and state. ²

¹ See Evans, Old Arts and New Theology.

² On the intensity of this devotion to developing a facility in ornamental high language

Because western educational practice has only relatively recently abandoned a foundational education in the Latin classics, we are challenged to ask how the classics of Latin and Greek culture (for instance, Aristotle, Ovid, Cicero) came to be read, reproduced, and used in the medieval and Renaissance classroom. This will particularly involve concentration on texts such as the commentaries, glosses, *accessus*, and paraphrases of these classics, and on understanding how the surviving relicts of these educational formats had their origin in the classroom practices of the time.

We do not currently know precisely what transpired in the medieval class-room, how the contents of our surviving manuscripts, incunables, and cinquecentine came to be written, how this information was used, including for what kinds of audiences and learning environments, or even how this knowledge was envisaged as being applicable to the world outside the classroom. Such questions are increasingly receiving scholarly attention, and because the modern humanities classroom is at present so universally under threat, it seems an appropriate time to attempt to assess the problems and possible solutions. We hope that along the way much light will be thrown upon why medieval and early modern students were prepared to study intensively texts that were, by the time they studied them, between one thousand and fifteen hundred years old, or more. What additions and adaptations had to be made to keep such texts 'up to date' and how do our surviving manuscripts and early printed books reflect what actually went on in the classroom?

Consideration of these aspects of the medieval and Renaissance classroom and how our manuscripts and early printed books related to that experience might enable us to arrive in the future at a more balanced assessment of the 'pragmatic and utilitarian' elements in medieval and early modern humanistic education, versus the 'ornamental and antiquarian' elements. The 'utilitarian' element implied not only studies that related to the conduct of business and intellectual, secretarial, and diplomatic life, but also the notion that one should 'learn lessons' from one's humanistic studies. The medieval utilitarian paradigm stressed long exposure to a foreign language and difficult texts in that language, and demanded an acquired skill in using Latin orally. ⁴ The Renaissance paradigm continued these

useful in the daily rounds of church and state, see the recent monograph by Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*.

³ See n. 14 below.

⁴ See Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's emphasis upon the 'pragmatic', if philologically fragile, aspects of medieval utilizations of the classics in Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. xi–xvi.

utilitarian tendencies, but added a greater measure of pure philological expertise, acquired in courts and in the somewhat more spacious university and *studia* curricula in secularized classical studies.

Our volume, then, attempts to investigate the relationship between surviving manuscripts and early printed books and the reality of the medieval and Renaissance classroom. We believe this is an emphasis outstandingly lacking in current and recent publications in the area. The difficulty of establishing what has completely passed away (actual classroom practice) from what has survived (manuscripts, incunabula, and cinquecentine) has slowed scholarship in the important field of the history of education. Many books on the subject deal with individuals, ideas, and the content of the arts in question, and the institutional structure and sometimes the examination methods of the schools, without commenting on the curriculum or the relationship between the curriculum and the surviving codicological relicts.⁵

At present, close study of manuscripts and annotations is rapidly advancing: Giancarlo Alessio has counted Virgil manuscripts, L. D. Reynolds has edited a key volume on the manuscript survival of classical texts, Marina Passalacqua has counted Priscian manuscripts, Claudia Villa has reconstructed an account of Terence's manuscript survival, Gernot Wieland has written on glosses to Arator and Prudentius, Ralph J. Hexter has written on Ovid commentaries and their manuscripts, the various volumes of the Union Académique Internationale project Catalogus translationum et commentariorum medii aevi progressed apace under the vigorous editorship of the late Virginia Brown, and Robert Black has

⁵ See for example Lafleur, Quatre introductions à la philosophie au XIII^e siècle; Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages; Orme, Education and Society; Orme, Medieval Schools; The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages, ed. by Wagner; The Intellectual Climate of the Early University, ed. by Van Deusen; Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship, ed. by Mann and Olsen; Learning Institutionalized, ed. by Van Engen; Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, ed. by Vaughn and Rubinstein; The Rhetoric of Cicero, ed. by Cox and Ward; What Nature Does Not Teach, ed. by Ruys; and Sheffler, Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany.

⁶ Alessio, 'Tradizione Manoscritta'. For Vitruvius, see Morrison, 'Architectural Planning'.

⁷ Texts and Transmission, ed. by Reynolds.

⁸ Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*. Passalacqua has also been associated with the counting of Boethius manuscripts: see *Codices Boethiani*, ed. by Passalacqua, Smith, and Gibson. For additional important citations see also the chapter by Manfred Kraus in this volume, n. 7.

⁹ Villa, Da Ildemaro a Francesco Petrarca.

¹⁰ Wieland, The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius.

¹¹ Hexter, Ovid and Medieval Schooling.

turned a powerful torch on manuscripts that relate to schools in later medieval and early modern Italy.¹² Other works are chasing down related aspects of the ways classical texts were used in medieval and Renaissance contexts.¹³ The time is ripe, therefore, for a close study of what the surviving codicological relicts can tell us about the otherwise little-known classroom practices of medieval and Renaissance Europe.

In the present volume, we include as 'classics' not only textbook authors such as Cicero and Priscian, but also commentators, translators, and transmitters such as Macrobius, Servius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville. Classics of all sorts, of course, existed right across the literary spectrum, and many of them were already over one thousand years old when studied in the medieval classroom. The major means by which such ancient texts were kept relevant to each generation was by the addition of gloss and commentary material, which Martin Irvine calls 'supplementary' information. 14 This additional material, which covered especially the standard accessus heads used in medieval commentaries, increased to alarming proportions until Renaissance scholars decided that such information was no longer necessary for the task of understanding classical works in their own context. 15 How were such glosses and commentaries related to classroom practice? Some of our commentaries seem to have been magisterial efforts, to judge from the quality and uniformity of the versions that survive, and the presence of manuscripts across the centuries following composition. 16 These authoritative versions were circulated, perhaps, to allow easy access to magisterial opinions away from the classroom. On the other hand, some of our manuscripts were clearly student *reportationes* (often compiled with the 'approval'

¹² Black, Humanism and Education.

¹³ See, for example, *Virtue Ethics in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Bejczy; Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, I (1988).

¹⁴ See Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, esp. pp. 372–93.

¹⁵ See the chapter by Craig Kallendorf in this volume and Ward, 'The Lectures of Guarino da Verona on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', pp. 122–24. The edition projected on p. 105 of this publication is not now proceeding. Domenico Losappio, a pupil of Giancarlo Alessio at the Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia, currently plans such an edition.

¹⁶ Thierry of Chartres and Petrus Helias are examples of commentators on the *De inventione* whose works survive in a remarkably uniform manner; see the list in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 70–75, but note the following correction: item VII (p. 71) should read in part 'Vatican BAV Borgh. lat. 57, fols 56^r–93^v'. Note that there is a variant of this commentary in Brugge, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 553, fols 1^{ra}–39^{ra}, *incipit*: 'sepe. daturus precepta de eloquentia quia videbat [...]'.

of the master).¹⁷ These *reportationes* must have also allowed private learning away from the schoolroom, or even the transport of key 'supplementary information' that might permit the launching of a lecturing career in some town distant from that in which the master operated.

Glosses are harder to explain. Were they added to a private copy of the text as the master lectured, or were they copied into a private copy of the text, from a *reportatio*, or authoritative version, away from the classroom?¹⁸ What context will explain the magnificent and massive tri-columnar gloss on Cicero's *De inventione* now preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 49?¹⁹ Who wrote it and why? Where? Why was it never copied? Some glosses represent almost insuperable problems,²⁰ and some reveal the rapid attainment of classroom status on the part of the text to which they are attached, a text which one would never have expected to attain such status at all, let alone rapidly.²¹

Early printed books also present many problems for classroom practice. In what context, for example, did the first printed gloss on Cicero's *Ad Herennium* arise?²² The extant incunable version of this commentary is an altered and anonymous version of a lecture series by Guarino da Verona, but it represents a version never found in the twenty or more surviving manuscripts of Guarino's lectures. Was it a set of lectures delivered by someone using Guarino's lectures at the time the printed version was set up? Is it some printer's guess at what might assist sales and private study of the *Ad Herennium*? We cannot know.

Most of the problems raised by surviving manuscripts and early printed texts of this sort can only be resolved when preliminary compilations of relevant manuscripts and early printed texts have been completed.²³ Such compilations are

¹⁷ For example, the gloss by Guarino; see Ward, 'The Lectures of Guarino da Verona on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'.

¹⁸ See the list in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 70–75, for some of these gloss versions of magisterial commentaries (items VIII and XIV).

¹⁹ See Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium*'; and Hunt, *The Survival of Ancient Literature*, pp. 57–58.

 $^{^{20}}$ See Ward, 'Lawrence of Amalfi and the Boundary between the Oral and the Written'.

²¹ Manuscript 'P' (BnF, MS lat. 561) of Abelard's *Carmen ad Astralabium* is an example here. Juanita Ruys's forthcoming study of its glosses suggests that it early became a classroom text in grammar.

²² See Ward, 'The Lectures of Guarino da Verona on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'.

²³ The late Paul O. Kristeller used to justify his monumental *Iter Italicum* on these grounds, and decried the venturing of further secondary discussion of Renaissance humanism until all the relevant manuscripts had been collected and assessed (Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*).

only as good as the manuscript catalogues on which they are based and so many manuscripts in vast collections today lack good catalogue entries. These are very real deficiencies that will impede study of the questions our collection raises.

The Contents of the Volume

A brief summary of the chapters in our collection should indicate where they fit into the larger questions our volume raises. These chapters have been arranged to give a coherent chronological overview of the matters raised. **Gabriele Knappe**'s chapter looks closely at the surviving manuscript evidence for teaching the language arts in England between the mid-tenth and early twelfth centuries. Knappe follows Patrizia Lendinara in concluding that while literary texts of the 'school authors' were certainly put to didactic use, no manuscript can really be shown to have been an actual school book, compiled by a teacher with the students in mind.

On the other hand, 'it seems impossible to exclude the scenario that the manuscripts were occasionally taken from the library to the classroom'. The manuscripts surveyed in Knappe's chapter illustrate the primacy of grammatical teaching in the England of the period, although, as Knappe shows, rhetorical manuscripts did enter into the classroom scene at the end of this period. Neither is dialectic ignored in the manuscripts. Knappe concludes with some interesting observations about 'an anonymous, unedited dialogue compilation of excerpts from Isidore's *Differentiae* and *Etymologiae*', in the late eleventh-century Salisbury manuscript BL, MS Royal 5. E. xvi, fols 1^v–19^r. Knappe also provides a valuable Appendix listing 'Manuscripts Written or Known in England from the Eighth Century to *c*. 1130 Containing Works for Instruction in the Language Arts' which serves to amplify the major points she makes in her chapter.

Beth Bennett gives us a glimpse of texts that were apparently deemed useful in teaching Graeco-Roman rhetorical theory in eleventh-century Italy. Anselm of Besate seems to have been an early example of the 'wandering' scholar, but in this case one who eventually sold his rhetorical skills to the German imperial court of Heinrich III, whose chaplain he became. We are not quite sure whether his rather peculiar *Rhetorimachia* was meant as a show piece or a text thought useful and hopefully to be copied for school use. If the latter, the effort was a relative failure as the text survives only in two manuscripts, one Italian (eleventh century) and another German (twelfth century). Nevertheless, Bennett analyses the work and its sources carefully and, given the centrality of eleventh-century Italy as the forging house for what came to be the *ars dictaminis*, we must look to Anselm to

supply us with an intriguing and learned aspect of school, court, or proto-school rhetorical study and reading in the Italy of his day.

Moving to the core of the so-called 'twelfth-century Renaissance', **Rita Copeland** devotes her chapter to one of the greatest of all masters of the medieval school-room: Thierry of Chartres. Thierry's 'schoolroom' produced — among other things — a highly innovative commentary on the *De inventione* of Cicero, and his massive *Heptateuchon*, an archive of primary texts for the study of each of the seven liberal arts. Yet, as the prefaces included in his *De inventione* commentary indicate, Thierry's classroom was to some extent an ideal one with lofty aims. Copeland suggests, however, that the *Heptateuchon* was a practical expression of a contemporary curriculum. If not exactly intended for the hands of every student, the *Heptateuchon* may at the least have been intended as an essential reference work to be available in every major *studium* for students to study, memorize, copy onto their wax tablets or sheets of parchment, or incorporate into their commentaries. That this did not happen is a tragedy that marks both the ambitions and the ultimate failure of the 'twelfth-century Renaissance'.

Copeland goes on to demonstrate that Thierry's account of the original function of rhetoric (from the preface to Cicero's *De inventione*) sees the story as entirely historical rather than mythological. Copeland's close analysis of Thierry's argument at the beginning of his *De inventione* commentary takes us deep into the profound intellectual respect evident in the early twelfth century for the function, morality, and utility of the arts. Nevertheless, Copeland's final point is important. From Thierry's *De inventione* gloss we learn that 'the discipline of rhetoric claims our attention on curricular, not philosophical, grounds'.

Karin Margareta Fredborg, foremost authority on the rhetoric of Thierry of Chartres, continues the extraordinary story of the elite humanism of the first half of the twelfth century by investigating just what grammar and rhetoric was offered to John of Salisbury in the Paris (and Chartres?) schoolrooms he frequented in the later 1130s and 1140s. Fredborg carefully studies the glosses on Priscian and Cicero of the period and William of Conches's glosses on Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* to construct a tertiary educational curriculum in the trivium that well illustrates the claim by William of Conches that the beginning of all understanding is the teaching of the master, who should love his student more even than a father. It is hard for us to comprehend the impact on the elite of the day of this close and attentive grounding in the best that Cicero, Priscian, Boethius, Plato (the *Timaeus*), and others could offer. We have no parallel phenomenon today, for even those few who do study the ancient languages intensively, do so as a mode of access to an antiquarian world, not as a major pathway towards their own thinking, truth-finding, expression, and general reading.

Even those of us who study the twelfth-century humanists today, do so to learn of them, not from them.

Birger Munk Olsen, who has done so much to introduce students and scholars to the authentic surviving manuscripts (written before AD 1200) of classical authors, ²⁴ surveys around sixty twelfth-century *accessus* or 'introductions' to Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Persius, and Ovid, which were used to familiarize school students with these authors and their writings. The formulaic nature of these 'introductions' and their relatively primitive philological apparatus may mislead us into thinking of them as routine and rote. If, however, we think about the subtopics considered in each *accessus*, we realize that schoolmasters of the day were making a surprisingly comprehensive attempt to introduce their author into the lives and minds of their students, betraying a grasp and a fullness of their subject that could well be imitated today.

Martin Camargo, world authority on the medieval *ars dictaminis*, looks at the grammatical and rhetorical classroom implications of the thirty-four English manuscripts of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, seeking to answer questions about the teachers who used Geoffrey's text, their techniques, the kinds of students they dealt with, where and at what level the teachers taught, and the practical ends to which their teaching was aimed.

The role of monks in producing these texts and the relatively intense concentration on practical tasks of highly competent poetic and prose composition are clearly evident from Camargo's study. The manuscripts he surveys mix instructional texts with exemplary items such as the poetic compositions of Alan of Lille or the *Architrenius* of John of Hauville. The appearance of the vernacular in these texts is analysed and Camargo concludes his paper with a series of Appendices. These list the English manuscripts of Geoffrey's *Poetria nova* and provide Latin texts (with English translations) from these manuscripts that illustrate case conversion as a way of practising compositional variation, instructions on reading aloud, and contemporary views of the contents of the *Poetria nova*.

Manfred Kraus tackles a much-debated and important topic, extending the boundaries of our thinking across the whole Middle Ages. He asks how much of 'the graded set of exercises in rhetoric and composition known as *progymnasmata* (preliminary exercises) [...] eventually passed into the medieval classroom'. Making some surprising deductions from the pattern of the surviving manuscripts of Priscian's translation of 'a Greek *progymnasmata* manual (erroneously attributed to Hermogenes) into Latin', and giving a complete list of these manuscripts, he then examines other sources of *progymnasmata* culture in the Middle Ages

²⁴ See Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins*.

and evaluates their influence on medieval compositional teaching. He concludes that the exercises in question are now and then similar to exercises that may have once been part of the progymnasmatic curriculum. Nevertheless, it would not be correct to argue that these exercises were derived from or were dependent upon the ancient *progymnasmata* system.

Lola Sharon Davidson takes us on a rare — for our volume — excursion into the world of the quadrivium classroom, a topic just touched upon in Rita Copeland's chapter on Thierry of Chartres's *Heptateuchon*. Davidson looks at the medieval consumption of Aristotle's treatise *De somno et vigilia* (in its available Latin translation) via the shape and content of its twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts, in the larger contexts of manuscripts containing the medieval Aristotle in general and the Jewish, Muslim, and Latin tradition of commentary on Aristotle's work. Her chapter makes clear the close and detailed exposure to the scientific works of Aristotle the medieval advanced student of physics was expected to encounter.

Steven J. Williams continues this emphasis on Aristotle in the medieval classroom and asks the surprisingly rarely put question, to what extent did students themselves drive change in this area of the medieval classroom? Were they the force behind Aristotle's adoption into the medieval school curriculum? We are all familiar enough with the student emphasis on university affairs in Bologna, 25 but what happened in the schools of Paris? Henri d'Andeli, in his thirteenth-century vernacular poem La Bataille des Sept Arts, describes the students of his day in Paris thus: 'As for the arts students, they care for naught except to read the books of nature.' John of Salisbury's complaints against the precocity of the students in his day are well known.²⁶ We know from Alan of Lille's theological Summa 'Quoniam homines' that what worried him were the questions students raised in the late twelfth-century theological classrooms about dualism and Manichaean ideas,²⁷ and we also know from such *catena* commentaries as that found at the beginning of Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 250 that student questioning was often incorporated into reportationes of contemporary lectures.²⁸ Williams examines the evidence of terms such as lectio, disputatio, and quaestiones for evidence of student impact and reaches some surprising conclusions.

²⁵ Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, ed. by Powicke and Emden, I, 149.

 $^{^{26}\,}$ See Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's De inventione by Thierry of Chartres'.

²⁷ A forthcoming annotated translation of Alan's *De fide catholica* by John O. Ward, John Scott, and Hilbert Chiu will elaborate on this topic.

²⁸ See Ward, 'Artificiosa eloquentia in the Middle Ages', 11, 379–459.

Robert Black focuses our attention on Tuscany, and especially Florence, in the later centuries of the Middle Ages, and provides a deep study of how (Latin) literary grammar and reading were taught and learned in this period, on the basis of manuscripts now housed primarily in Florence. He analyses closely the texts used, their glossing (in Latin and the vernacular) and the schoolroom practice of translating vernacular passages into Latin (the *themata*), drawing in the main from manuscripts that were used in or resulted from the schoolrooms of the period and region in question. Black tells us that by the conclusion of their Latin studies, pupils were composing their own letters and reading the more advanced texts, including the Roman classics. In this last context, Latin stylistics, using simplified rhetorical treatises, were introduced. Black's chapter uses extant manuscripts to take us right to the heart of the later medieval Italian grammar schoolroom and provides from these surviving manuscripts a detailed account of what went on in the schoolrooms themselves.

Moving away from the classroom, Lucia Calboli Montefusco applies her exceptional skills in classical rhetorical theory to the most learned of the fifteenth-century Italian rhetors, George of Trebizond, via a close study of the letter George sent in 1426, ten years after his initial arrival in Italy,²⁹ to Girolamo Bragadin, teaching him how to attain *suavitas dicendi*, a topic George had already dealt with in a letter addressed to his own teacher, the celebrated Vittorino da Feltre. Anyone interested in the long history of epistolography may well consult two works, one recent, a careful study of the letter collections of Peter of Blois by John D. Cotts,³⁰ and the other, the still unpublished pioneering examination of the significance of the letter collections of Petrarch by David McRuvie.³¹ The letters of Trebizond are in fact heirs to a long tradition of literary letter writing, and represent 'valiant frontier essays' that bring into play the writings of Hermogenes of Tarsus, a Greek rhetor of the second century AD, in the use of which George was a pioneer.³² If we take as our schoolroom norm for this period Guarino da Verona, the butt of a good deal of George's polemic and a master who adhered closely to the Ad Herennium throughout his teaching career, then George lies at the other end of the intellectual spectrum. Like Anselm of Besate, he was probably addressing the cream of contemporary humanists and was far ahead, perhaps, of the standards prevailing in contemporary schools, where students managed

²⁹ Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 20–21.

³⁰ Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, esp. chaps 1 and 2, pp. 17–95.

³¹ McRuvie, 'Changes in the Intelligibility of Writing'. See also Ward, 'Rhetoric: *disciplina* or Epistemology?'.

³² See Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, Chap. 9, pp. 241–99.

(for rhetoric) with the *Ad Herennium* and Cicero's letters, larded with contemporary lectures on the classical poets, and in areas with a scholastic flavour, relying upon medieval dictaminal and poetic commentators.

Nevertheless, Calboli Montefusco takes us firmly into the dynamics of George's study and utilization of the ideas of Hermogenes on such speech components as 'thoughts', 'approach to the thought', 'style', 'figures of speech', 'clauses', 'word order', 'cadences', and 'rhythm', together with the following aspects of Demosthenes' style: clarity, grandeur, beauty, rapidity, character, sincerity, appropriateness, and other numerous subtypes. One would like to know just how far these sorts of teachings eventually infiltrated the schoolroom.

Dugald McLellan's study of the career and publications of Antonio Mancinelli, the later fifteenth-century Italian schoolmaster who taught at Velletri (forty kilometres south of Rome), Sermoneta, Fano, Orvieto, Rome, and, perhaps, Venice, again stresses the classics as guides to living and parenting, alongside a much wider and somewhat more thorough grounding in basic classical texts and stylistic norms than would have been current in the twelfth century. Core texts by Horace, Virgil, Juvenal, Ovid, and others were, of course, known in the medieval period but only a close comparison between the commentaries of the medieval and Renaissance periods would establish how different they were. McLellan's study of his subject's writings and teaching career is fascinating because Mancinelli was in demand as a teacher and what he taught was valued and has survived — not least, because his career coincided with the advent of printing. Like other great Renaissance educators, Mancinelli was deeply committed to the importance of education in general, and displayed the firmest commitment to classical studies in particular. McLellan's thorough and well-informed chapter thus offers us an introduction to a relatively neglected figure in the history of Renaissance educational humanism.

Craig Kallendorf, an acknowledged expert on the teaching of Virgil in the Renaissance, takes us to the *Observations on the Works of Vergil* (1566) by Orazio Toscanella, a sixteenth-century schoolmaster in Venice. We are at first struck by the utilitarian nature of Toscanella's teaching, an aspect that reminds us of early twelfth-century humanism: the great poets Homer and Virgil tell us all we need to know about a host of major civilized topics. Again, we find the medieval approach of learning from, not of, the ancient authors, but this is coupled, in Toscanella's case, with a much firmer basis of antiquarian information than would have been available in the medieval period (although this is not stressed in Kallendorf's paper). The strongly didactic nature of contemporary teaching, however, is and Kallendorf shows how both teachers and students in Toscanella's day marked up and glossed their *printed* texts, in search of

'moral wisdom, especially as it was expressed in memorable phrases and aphorisms, and of examples of stylistic felicity, both well-turned phrases and figures of speech', helping us understand why Erasmus's *Adages* were so popular in his day. Kallendorf concludes by offering a critique of the thesis of Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton in their *From Humanism to the Humanities*, and with a glance at what Robert Black and Marjorie Curry Woods have written about the continuities, rather than the disjunctions, between medieval and Renaissance educational patterns.

Marjorie Curry Woods, who has written extensively on the medieval poetic schoolroom, tackles a fundamental question: what distinguishes the medieval from the Renaissance 'commentary' on classic texts? She analyses the nature of the commentaries from both periods and stresses continuity, ascribing any differences to technical aspects of the production of texts; for example, the widespread availability of cheaper writing materials in paper and, later on, the impact of printing, or else to the different ways that modern scholars choose to approach such texts. Woods compares the grading of *classes* for students in the Middle Ages and Renaissance and urges 'more descriptive and less judgmental comparisons' between commentaries of different periods. Her conclusion that for the commentaries she is considering we abandon our hard-won distinctions between 'classical, medieval, and Renaissance' will certainly invite careful reading of her paper.

C. Jan Swearingen carries our coverage of classroom issues into the Scotland of the sixteenth century, arguing that George Buchanan, a contemporary of Petrus Ramus, meant in his revision of the curriculum at St Andrew's University 'the restoration of a full menu of classical literature into the undergraduate arts curriculum' as a prelude to students' participation in 'the religious, intellectual, and political debates of their day'. Buchanan, Ramus, and their leading contemporaries demonstrated a deep commitment to the revival and restoration of the Latin and Greek classics, and encouraged the reading of classical literature as an instrument for training clear thinking, as well as a source of models that could help in the absorption of ancient rhetorical modes of expression.

Swearingen places this in its Scottish philosophical context, before explaining in some detail how the 'humanist curriculum' aimed to drive out what some termed the 'arts scholasticism' of the later schoolmen. A close examination of Buchanan's own classicism and career follows. Although, as Swearingen points out, the humanist curricular reform was not fully adopted in Scotland, her chapter demonstrates that even in the north of Western Europe, the foundations of our own modern cultural emphases were making great headway.

Ursula Potter extends our exploration of the Renaissance classroom by looking at the somewhat controversial place of Terence in the Tudor classroom and

what that place owed to Erasmus, a devotee of Terence as the best way of teaching morals. In this regard Potter draws interesting parallels between Terence and Shakespeare himself. The problem with Terence was, of course, his concentration upon potential or actual sexual immorality. As long ago as the tenth-century German canoness, Hrostvit of Gandersheim, this had led conscientious teachers keen to use the attractions of Terence without his immorality to redraft his plays or write sanitized versions of them for use in classrooms comprised of young boys of eleven years of age and upwards in the Tudor period, and of young girls, we presume, in Hrotsvit's time. Potter demonstrates that Terence was studied 'as a tool for teaching boys the highly prized rhetorical arts of actio (action, gestures), pronunciatio (elocution), and prosopopoeia (impersonation). She then examines some of the 'arid substitutes' for Terence and shows how Terence and his great advocate, Erasmus, eventually faded away, whilst Juan Luis Vives (Spanish, 1492–1540), an early opponent of the use of Terence, 'remained firmly on the curriculum well into the twentieth century'. In Potter's chapter too, the moral utility (or lack of it) and the linguistic value of Terence (especially for spoken Latin), are the issues at stake, not the antiquarian study of the early Roman playwrights that dominates modern classicism in this area.

Our final chapter is that of **Brian Taylor**, a leading specialist in the study of the German Masteringers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Taylor deals with 'masters' who were not so called from their role in schools per se. These masters 'were amongst the last of the court poets and composed, among other genres, a type of song called by modern scholars the Sangspruch'. Their successors 'became, it seems, poets who, instead of moving from court to court, moved rather from town to town in search of other clients for their works'. Essential to their role, however, was the teaching of their codified techniques to prosperous artisans and other aspirants to culture and creativity. Taylor's account of the schools and manuscripts of the 'mastersingers' takes us on a most interesting journey out of the familiar clerical and learned environment, into the lay world where culture and creativity were valued — rather as modern urban middle classes value and cultivate physical fitness. Taylor concentrates on the teaching of the seven liberal arts among the mastersingers and thus ties our volume together at the very end, for the seven liberal arts were always the foundations of medieval and Renaissance attention to the classics of the past. The learning, flourishing, and decline of the masters Taylor deals with extends the scope of our volume and provides another intriguing contrast with our own day: what, if any, might be the modern equivalent of the 'mastersong' of the 'mastersingers'? Taylor's contribution also enriches our knowledge of how we may (or may not) work back from extant manuscripts to what actually went on in the world that produced them.

It might be objected that some of our chapters seem not to concern themselves with the actualities of the classroom. There are good reasons for this. In the case of Beth Bennett, her subject, Anselm of Besate, was an innovator who seems to have been closely connected to the schools and who might well have been writing for them, although we cannot be sure of this. In any case, he seems to have been taken up with a clerical career in the service of the German Emperor and must therefore have been drawn away from the schools. His work is nevertheless a valuable insight into what innovative schooling at the time might have involved.

For Antonio Mancinelli, we need to start with Dugald McLellan's introduction to his published oeuvre and the wide range of school texts with which he was associated. Only when we have mastered the material McLellan presents can we begin to investigate Mancinelli in the schoolroom, a large task that we could not ask McLellan to discuss substantially in his present chapter. We need, nevertheless, to contrast Mancinelli, essentially the schoolman, with George of Trebizond, who, in Lucia Calboli Montefusco's presentation, is more concerned with advanced level stylistic niceties and demonstration of the value of the Hermogenean rhetorical studies that he was instrumental in introducing into Latin humanism of the fifteenth century. If we review George's career, we will notice that although he was an effective teacher and taught or lectured on many occasions, his lifestyle was more that of a high-level researcher and translator than a schoolman. A difficult man, and a controversialist, his broad range of interests included philosophy, apocalyptic eschatology, theology, and exegesis. Ironically, his most popular school work was 'the little grammatical catechism De partibus orationis ex Prisciano compendium [...] easily Trebizond's most popular writing during the fifteenth century.'33 His Rhetoricorum libri quinque was obviously meant to demonstrate his superiority as a professor of Latin rhetoric but of its career in the classroom we are unfortunately not well informed. George's financial stability came with papal employment, aristocratic patronage, and possibly also business investments rather than with teaching, and he must be ranked with Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo Valla, Theodore Gaza, and other high-level Latin humanists, rather than with the schoolmen such as Guarino da Verona, Mancinelli, or Francesco Maturanzio.³⁴ Comparison of Calboli Montefusco's and McLellan's chapters will amply demonstrate this.

An insight into how deeply Mancinelli was involved in the schoolroom of his day can be provided by a brief glimpse at the opening of his commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a text thought by most of his contemporaries to have

³³ See Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 27–28 and 231.

 $^{^{34}}$ See Monfasani, $\it George \ of \ Trebizond, `Part I: Biography'; on George's rhetoric, see Chap. 9, pp. 241–99.$

been written by none other than Cicero himself. The popularity of this text and its continuous printing is alluded to in McLellan's chapter in this volume. A convenient approach to Mancinelli's commentary is provided by the 1531 Crepin edition,³⁵ a classroom volume *par excellence*. This edition contains the texts of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, surrounded by the commentaries of the fourth-century Victorinus and the more or less contemporary scholars Franciscus Maturantius Perusinus (Francesco Maturanzio of Perugia),³⁶ Antonio Mancinelli, and Iodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade of Aasche).³⁷ In this period the two foundation teaching texts in rhetoric were the *Ad Herennium* (despite the availability of much more sophisticated ancient texts as a result of humanist researches)³⁸ and Cicero's letters.³⁹ The former text tied teaching to a work popular throughout the High and later Middle Ages, whilst the latter marked what was new about Renaissance rhetorical humanism.⁴⁰

The Crepin volume, like so many similar collections, was clearly aimed at advanced schools. The volume has an alphabetical table of ideas and words found in the attached commentaries and in the texts themselves. In addition to the texts, surrounded by commentaries, the reader could find useful marginal notes drawing attention to important aspects of the volume in summary. To address those who felt — since the attack by Rafaello Regio in 1491⁴¹ — that the author of the

³⁵ The copy consulted is BAV, Prop. 111.151.

³⁶ 1443–1518; see Zappacosta, Francesco Maturanzio.

³⁷ 1462–1535; see Kristeller, *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, 1, 230–31.

³⁸ See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 120–32; Ward, 'Cicero and Quintilian'; Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, Chap. 8, pp. 338–91; and Plett, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture*.

³⁹ See Monfasani, 'Humanism and Rhetoric', p. 185; and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 223–29.

⁴⁰ See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pt II, Chap. 8, pp. 203–34; and Ward, 'Cicero and Quintilian'. Cicero's letters were not studied during the Middle Ages, although they were known to some. See Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 201; *Texts and Transmission*, ed. by Reynolds, pp. 138–42. For medieval dictaminal practice, see Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*; and Camargo, *Ars dictaminis, ars dictandi*.

⁴¹ See Murphy and Winterbottom, 'Raffaele Regio's 1492 *Quaestio*'; and Ward, 'Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution'. Regio sought to defame a rival teacher of rhetoric by pointing out that he didn't even know that the *Ad Herennium* was not by Cicero! Regio's own doubts arose from the fact that Quintilian, who (it was felt) cites *all* rhetorical authors before his time, does not cite any text which can be safely identified with the *Ad Herennium*, and certainly does not cite it as a work of Cicero, whom he greatly admires. Regio's thoughts here were provoked by the new attention to *all* of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* that characterized the Renaissance: see Ward, 'Cicero and Quintilian'.

Rhetorica ad Herennium was not Cicero, the 'disquisitio' of Josse Bade was added, and in it we find the observation that Mancinelli has collected many arguments for claiming a positive response to doubts on this question — although Josse himself is not convinced. It seems clear that a schoolman like Mancinelli was required to have a view on this issue, and an affirmative approach protected him from accusations of fraud, ignorance, and delusion, charges that Regio was happy to bring against his rival Marino da Scutari Becichemo. Ancinelli inherited the medieval ascription of the Rhetorica ad Herennium to Cicero but embedded it far more thoroughly into the circumstances of Cicero's life than any medieval author had troubled to do.

The titles or chapters of all the 'Ciceronian' books then follow, providing a rapid overview of the contents of the curriculum. It seems that Mancinelli wrote a commentary only on Book I of the *Ad Herennium*, whereas the other scholars glossed it all. This is odd, for Book I of the *Ad Herennium* provides only a general overview of rhetoric, leaving to the later books detailed treatment of all the parts — *inventio*, *dispositio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*, *elocutio* — as well as the nonjudicial types of speech (speeches of praise and blame, and deliberative speeches). One is forced to conclude that Mancinelli took his students only through the basic outlines of the art, without the close and detailed attention provided in the rest of the ancient text. Alternatively, he may have used the glosses of others to cover the later material, ⁴³ wanting only to put his own stamp on the crucial early stages of acquisition of rhetorical skills.

The text of the *Ad Herennium* itself then follows, accompanied by the glosses of Josse Bade, Maturanzio, and Mancinelli himself.⁴⁴ Mancinelli's work, dedicated for reasons of patronage and prestige to a leading Venetian nobleman, was written in 1493,⁴⁵ two years after Regio's celebrated attack on the authorship of

⁴² Ward, 'Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution', p. 245.

⁴³ In addition to the scholars named, Guarino da Verona was the earliest to provide a full set of glosses for all the *Ad Herennium* and his commentary, pruned of anything mentioning his name and shortened, was printed many times; see Ward, 'The Lectures of Guarino da Verona on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'. George of Trebizond found Guarino's treatment of rhetoric jejune and advanced it substantially, using the works of Hermogenes of Tarsus, not hitherto known in the schools; see Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, Chap. 9, pp. 241–99. Lucia Calboli Montefusco has commented on George's rhetorical ideas: see Calboli Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences'.

⁴⁴ The latter is entitled: Antonii Mancinelli commentariolus in Rhetoricen ad Herennium ad Hieronymum Omphredi Iustinianum Patricium Venetum Prototharium Apostolicum Archidiacionum Concordiensem.

⁴⁵ Monfasani, 'Humanism and Rhetoric', pp. 185, 223.

the treatise, and demonstrates Mancinelli's deep involvement in what passed at the time for a key school instructional text in the valued precepts of the ancient art of rhetoric. 46 As in the medieval period, this instruction took place by way of close and detailed attention to the text of the ancient writer as a work of rhetoric, and Mancinelli considered this attention to be a large and important subject. Whatever we may think of his classroom remarks on the Ad Herennium (and we must presume that he taught what is in this commentary in classrooms at various points in his life), and however we may compare his remarks with those of his contemporaries, they were accepted by the printers as an essential accompaniment to the classical text itself. Further analyses of Mancinelli's work, along these lines, will demonstrate the key role he played in the classrooms of his day.

With Rita Copeland's chapter on Thierry of Chartres' Heptateuchon and De inventione commentary, we are in a different theatre. Neither are works of profound scholarship, yet both have clear didactic contexts. The *De inventione* commentary was clearly used in schools and lived on throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ The Heptateuchon, however, despite its didactic and curricular aims, was not adopted in the schools of the time. Nevertheless, Copeland herself maintains that in adhering to the curricular model of the seven liberal arts, the Heptateuchon directly reflects an ideal of classroom pedagogy. She points out, however, that the volumes of the *Heptateuchon* were probably too big and expensive to be used in actual classroom teaching. Rather, students in their own time must have been expected to consult the Heptateuchon collection of texts at various points in their instruction, gaining access to them by way of the book collections in monasteries or cathedrals. There is, of course, no evidence that cathedrals and monasteries (other than Chartres) ever copied the two-volume text. It is surely of interest to speculate why this should have been the case. How and why did Thierry mistake the educational market of the day?

Jan Swearingen's chapter on Buchanan's sixteenth-century university curricular reforms again introduces us to the swirl of intellectual currents that surrounded curricular reform and educational innovation. Nevertheless, she admits that neither Buchanan's nor Melville's curriculum ideas were fully adopted. She thus brings us very close to leading ideas about where university curricula should be heading in her place and period.

⁴⁶ See Monfasani, 'Humanism and Rhetoric'.

⁴⁷ See the discussion of manuscripts in Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 30–37.

We would encourage our readers, therefore, to consider not only what *did* succeed in the classroom, and what provides evidence for this, but also what did *not* succeed in the classroom, despite an engagement with some of the profoundest elements of the intellectual currents of the time. Some classics could not be fitted into the classroom, although most of those we deal with did. The difference should excite interest and speculation.

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MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE OF THE TEACHING OF THE LANGUAGE ARTS IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON AND EARLY NORMAN ENGLAND, WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO THE ROLE OF THE CLASSICS

Gabriele Knappe

he Norman Conquest brought about a major change in England's political and social development. For this reason, and because the Conquest coincides with an incipient major intellectual renewal in Europe, it has often been regarded as marking a convenient break-off point between early and high medieval England. In recent years, scholars have increasingly begun to study the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods — which are traditionally the fields of Anglo-Saxonists on the one hand and specialists on the later medieval period on the other — as a fascinating period of continuation and renewal, and above all as a period of transition to new points of departure. This is true at least in terms of both historical linguistics, that is, the study of the transition from Old to Middle English (complicated by the scarcity of early Middle English texts), and in terms of intellectual developments in the country generally. To this latter theme the present chapter would like to contribute.

This study thus covers roughly 180 years from the time when the changes brought about by the Benedictine Reform were felt in England to the time before the full impact of Peter Abelard's writings set in, that is, the (middle and) later tenth to the early twelfth centuries. The aim of the study is to comment on the manuscript evidence in this period for the teaching of the 'language arts': grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, that is, the trivium as it was understood in Carolingian times.

¹ For the Anglo-Saxon period, a most reliable and detailed overview is Gneuss, 'The Study

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The basis of the investigation is Helmut Gneuss's *Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* and Richard Gameson's inventory of manuscripts from 1066 to *c.* 1130, from which the list of manuscripts in the Appendix has been compiled.²

While the list of the manuscript evidence of instructional texts on the trivial arts provided in the Appendix aims at completeness, my analysis focuses on the role of classical and post-classical instructional texts and their direct or indirect impact in the early Middle Ages in England.³ The three verbal arts are discussed in turn from selected perspectives. Post-Conquest England reveals both novelty (for example, the appearance of commentaries on Cicero's De inventione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium), and continuity: the continued copying and glossing of Ælfric's Latin grammar written in Old English on the basis of a medieval excerpt from Priscian, and the omnipresence of Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae, through which much classical lore on the liberal arts was bequeathed to the early Middle Ages. The Etymologiae thus deserve special attention in this chapter, and the evidence of two manuscripts from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Bodley 239 (2244) and BL, MS Royal 5. E. xvi) will be discussed, together with some remarks on divisions of philosophy, that is, the attempt at placing the branches of knowledge in a theoretical framework of reference. The findings presented in this chapter will partly exemplify, but also modify and specify Patrizia Lendinara's and Richard Gameson's statements especially with respect to rhetoric and dialectic. 4 The starting point of the discussion,

of Language'. An Italian–Dutch group of scholars has now ventured on a project which studies the dissemination of encyclopaedic knowledge in the period before 1200; see *Storehouses of Wholesome Learning*, dir. by Lendinara, Bremmer, and Dekker. Two collections of articles were published, *Foundations of Learning*, ed. by Bremmer and Dekker, and *Practice in Learning*, ed. by Bremmer and Dekker. Related to this is an Italian project coordinated by Patrizia Lendinara on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and texts for instruction; see *Leornungcraft*, dir. by Lendinara. A first collection of papers was published by Brepols: *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Lendinara, Lazzari, and D'Aronco. Lendinara's large-scale overview study in this volume, Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', is particularly important for the present study. I would like to thank Dr Inge B. Milfull for several discussions of issues raised in this chapter.

² See Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*; Gneuss, 'Addenda and Corrigenda'; and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*.

³ By 'classical' (and 'post-classical') instructional texts all pre-medieval textbooks are meant, in particular when, like the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville, they impart classical learning to the Middle Ages.

⁴ See Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 84–87, esp. p. 87 (tenth and eleventh centuries), pp. 99–101, esp. p. 100 (early twelfth century); and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early*

however, is a general consideration of the manuscript evidence, in particular what the manuscripts themselves reveal of their didactic use.

Manuscripts for Instruction in the Language Arts and Evidence of their Use in Teaching

Of the thousands of codices that must once have existed in England between the late tenth and early twelfth centuries, an estimated 1500 survive in part or whole to the present day.⁵ It goes without saying that hard and fast facts about the knowledge of individual authors or texts cannot be deduced from the evidence of the manuscripts alone, but must of course take into consideration booklists, source studies, and other contemporary evidence.⁶ Nevertheless, a look at the manuscript contents reveals at once that most of the volumes contain patristic and post-patristic theology, biblical and liturgical texts, as well as historical and hagiographical writing.⁷ The manuscripts listed in the Appendix below show

Norman England, pp. 27–29 (esp. pp. 28–29). Both Gameson and Lendinara are (necessarily) rather selective in their discussion of the works. In the Introduction to his catalogue, furthermore, Gameson lists Bede's De schematibus et tropis and Alcuin's De dialectica as 'primers' of rhetoric (thus also Lendinara; in Gameson's index, Alcuin's De rhetorica, a text not included in the manuscript list, is oddly cross-referenced to Alcuin's De dialectica). Gameson also mentions Hrabanus Maurus's De clericorum institutione in the context of dialectic, but not of rhetoric; more importantly, the manuscripts of the work in Gneuss's and Gameson's lists (Gneuss, Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, nos 59, 65.5, 73, 131 = Gameson, The Manuscripts of Early Norman England, nos 112, 644) do not contain Book III of De clericorum institutione, where Hrabanus discusses the use of the trivial arts for the preacher (Hrabanus Maurus, De institutione clericorum, ed. by Knöpfler, III. 18–20).

- ⁵ The number 1500 is a very rough estimate on the following basis: the inventories by Gneuss and Gameson list *c*. 1100 and 939 manuscripts and fragments, respectively. There is an overlap of about four hundred manuscripts between the two inventories, according to Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', p. 96, n. 151. Additionally, more than a hundred of the *c*. 300 manuscripts which are dated prior to the later tenth century in Gneuss's list have continental provenance and thus might have been exported prior to this time. Obviously, problematic datings and composite manuscripts further complicate such a counting and make it unreliable.
- ⁶ See *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, esp. 'Catalogue of Classical and Patristic Authors and Works Composed before AD 700 and Known in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 275–342; and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, pp. 45–52: inventory of texts included in booklists.
- ⁷ This list of subjects reflects the categories in Gameson's statistics (Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, pp. 20–29). However, Gameson's categories are only of limited use in this context.

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that only a relatively small fraction of the estimated overall number contain texts on the trivial arts (slightly over one hundred of c. 1500), and the figure is not high for the quadrivial arts either.⁸ How far these manuscripts provide evidence that they were used for actual classroom instruction is a complex question.

In the period covered here, manuscripts were not produced for the use of individual students 'in the classroom'. Original writings by students in the form of wax tablets or even books directly resulting from the process of teaching and learning have not survived. Teachers, schools, and education were valued very highly and were pervading themes in contemporary texts, but again, witnesses of the pedagogical practice itself have not survived. In a recent study, Lendinara addressed the complex question of 'instructional' and 'educational' manuscripts in the period which is also considered here. Her study of the manuscripts in the light of their didactic functions yields, in the main, the following results: while literary texts of the 'school authors' were put to didactic use and instructional tracts such as grammars, drills, colloquies, and glossaries survive, no manuscript can claim the status of an actual schoolbook or manual, compiled by a teacher with the students in mind (no *Schulbuch*), or for popularizing a given subject (no *Sachbuch*).9

Lendinara concludes that 'the significant educational manuscripts are those where the grammatical treatises and related commentaries occur beside the texts of the *auctores*'. Manuscripts that contain such an arrangement of texts and glosses needed for teaching Latin to native speakers of English have sometimes been labelled 'classbooks'. Lendinara argues that it is more likely that these

⁸ On manuscript evidence of the quadrivium, computus, and medicine, see Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 87–92 (tenth and eleventh centuries) and pp. 101–03 (early twelfth century); and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 29. Lendinara's study, which also includes an appendix (Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 105–13), contains sections on the quadrivium, too. This appendix is a systematically arranged list of manuscripts with possible instructional use up to 1100. It excludes codices for religious instruction, and, for no apparent reason, given the chronological scope of the study, manuscripts of the early twelfth century. The manuscripts are ordered according to systematic criteria, partly pertaining to subject, such as '9.1. Computistica [...]' and '9.2. Computus', and partly pertaining to function in instruction, such as '2.1. (Curriculum) Authors (more than one) + commentaries and/or glosses'. Because early twelfth-century manuscripts are excluded and each manuscript is only listed once on the basis of the most relevant item or items, a complete picture of extant texts and their use in the whole period does not emerge.

⁹ See Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 71–72.

¹⁰ Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', p. 86.

¹¹ See in particular Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript'. Wieland singles out a number of criteria that such a classbook must fulfil.

manuscripts never saw a classroom, but were library books owned communally in monasteries or individually by members of the ecclesiastical and secular elites and used by teachers to prepare their lessons. 12 However, it seems impossible to exclude the scenario that the manuscripts were occasionally taken from the library to the classroom so that this hotly debated categorization seems somewhat useless in this context. While these codices thus provide actual teaching aids, which is revealed, for example, by construe marks and 'q: glosses',13 other manuscripts classify as 'educational' in that they are miscellanies of grammatical texts, notes, primers, and school texts. In a third category, instructional manuscripts gather instructional material without revealing a didactic purpose. Lendinara holds that they served the function of reference works. 14 However, these manuscripts were clearly useful for self-instruction both by masters and proficient students and thus could function as aids in preparing lessons. From this point of view, reference works for private consultation may also count as educational in a more general sense, in particular when they show traces of usage or special arrangements of the texts. The educational use of reference works probably increased when the option of private reading in the monasteries started to give way to more public, more pragmatic reading in the cathedral schools.¹⁵

More importantly in the present context, recent research has singled out several criteria that can be applied in evaluating whether a given text and/or codex can count as 'educational' — in the sense of its use by a teacher to instruct students — in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman contexts. ¹⁶ The first is the contemporary attestation of a modified version (for example, paraphrase, excerpt, abridgement) beside the standard text itself. Second, the involvement of a teacher in the genesis of a manuscript is betrayed by an apparatus accompanying a given text (glosses, marginal notes, commentaries). The third indication is the layout of

¹² 'Manuscripts containing texts used for teaching were either library books or manuscripts which, at a specific time, belonged to one person': Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', p. 72.

¹³ See Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript', pp. 165–68. Syntactical glosses are aids to studying the sentence structure; 'q: glosses' apparently mark the place where the teacher asks a question, but they do not give the answer. On the role of glosses, see also the section on 'A Grammarian's Culture', below, and now also Teeuwen, 'Glossing in Close Co-operation'. A new collection of articles which specializes in late Anglo-Saxon England appeared in 2011 under the title *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses*, ed. by Lendinara, Lazzari, and Di Sciacca.

¹⁴ See Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 79, 86 with n. 109, and p. 87; Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, pp. 344–46. For the discussion of an early example, cf. now Bremmer, 'Leiden Vossianus Lat. Q. 69'.

¹⁵ On this change in general, see Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace', p. 105.

¹⁶ See Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 72–76, and the literature referred to there.

text and glosses, including the disposition of the texts, ornamentation, and illustrations. These systematic criteria will be taken up again in the following sections à propos the three language arts.

A Grammarian's Culture: Didactic Glosses, Excerpts, and New Teaching Texts from Late Anglo-Saxon England

Instruction in the entire Anglo-Saxon period can be characterized as dominated by the *grammaticus*. Grammatical instruction in Anglo-Saxon England encompasses both the teaching of correct Latin and instruction in reading and interpreting Latin texts.¹⁷ Grammatical handbooks abound (see Appendix, Part B). This is true not only of the third Anglo-Saxon period (from the time of King Alfred the Great to the Norman Conquest) which followed a decline of learning in the ninth century, but also of the first period, the golden age of Anglo-Saxon Latin learning in the seventh and eighth centuries, which brought forth highly influential men of learning such as Aldhelm, the Venerable Bede, and Alcuin.¹⁸

But in addition to the testimonies of the handbooks, the teaching method itself — as witnessed by the glosses and annotations transmitted with the 'school authors', in particular the *Disticha Catonis*, Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*, Prudentius, and Prosper of Aquitaine — reveals the grammatical turn of mind. Further to what has been said above, it has been pointed out that glosses helped both teacher and student to understand prosody and grammar, rhetorical features, and syntax.¹⁹ The manuscripts show that even the teaching of the classical Latin authors must be viewed from this grammatical perspective.²⁰ Thus we

¹⁷ See Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*. On traditions of classical rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England and those parts of grammatical and dialectical instruction pertaining to it, see Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*; Knappe, 'Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England'; and Knappe, 'The Rhetorical Aspect of Grammar Teaching'.

¹⁸ Alcuin's handbooks on the arts of the trivium were written at Charlemagne's court and must be exclusively viewed as continental works. On the range of grammar and 'lexicology' in Anglo-Saxon England, see Gneuss, 'The Study of Language'.

¹⁹ See, for example, Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', pp. 73–74; and Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript'. On rhetorical and dialectical glosses on a Pauline text, see Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 91–95.

²⁰ Gameson finds twenty-two manuscripts from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that contain Latin classical authors (Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, pp. 25–26). For a general overview, see also Olsen, 'The Production of Classics in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries'.

owe the survival of what is now the earliest extant manuscript of the first book of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* to one of the fathers of the Benedictine Reform movement in England, Dunstan of Glastonbury. This composite manuscript (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Auctarium F.4.32) has become known as 'Dunstan's classbook' and is glossed for lexical and syntactic information. Martin Irvine has convincingly argued that the text was valued for what it could teach about Latin language and poetics.²¹ Preceding the text of Eutyches's *Ars de verbo* on fol. 1^r, a line drawing was inserted at Glastonbury, showing 'Christ as Wisdom' and the kneeling figure of Dunstan, together with two classicizing hexameter lines apparently written by Dunstan himself (the first one is adapted from Hrabanus Maurus):

I ask you, merciful Christ, to watch over me, Dunstan, that you do not let the Taenaerian storms swallow me.²²

As a Christian poet Dunstan apparently prays that he, with Christ's protection, will not have to go to Hades. The word 'tenarias' is probably taken from Virgil's *Georgics*, and Irvine suggests that only a community of *grammatici* could have appreciated these lines with their hybrid Latinity (Christian theme and classical diction) so typical of early medieval grammar.

In the later third period of Anglo-Saxon England, particularly after the Benedictine Reform, the main grammatical sources were Priscian and Donatus, together with Eutyches, Phocas, grammatical chapters in the encyclopaedic works by Isidore and Martianus Capella, and Carolingian commentaries. In the years after the Conquest, the number of grammatical manuscripts is surprisingly low. Only Priscian stands out, with nine manuscripts containing (parts of) his *Institutiones grammaticae*. Although this text superseded Donatus in popularity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the lack of manuscripts of the *Ars maior* from early Anglo-Norman England and the attestation of only two copies in late Anglo-Saxon England warns us against jumping to rash conclusions on the basis of quantitative evidence. The short life of standard elementary manuscripts might simply come from, as Gameson puts it, being 'worked to death'.²³

²¹ See Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 411; see also Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace', on a twelfth-century gloss on Horace's *Satires*.

²² 'Dunstanum memet clemens rogo, Christe, tuere, | Tenarias me non sinas sorbsisse procellas'; trans. by Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 407; see. p. 408, for a reproduction of the drawing and the verses, but note the spelling errors in his rendering of the verses, pp. 407–08. See also Gneuss, 'Dunstan and Hrabanus Maurus'.

²³ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 27. See also Gneuss, 'The Study of Language', pp. 83–84. A booklist from the end of the eleventh century mentions 'Donatus' without further specification; see Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 48.

One text that was highly valued throughout the eleventh and the twelfth centuries is Ælfric's Old English Grammar of Latin, written c. 998. Its popularity is reflected by the number of the manuscripts and the glossing in English, Latin, and even Anglo-Norman (see Appendix, no. B.27). Ælfric's Grammar is a special case in point to illustrate that 'modification' of a text is a criterion for its educational use. This modification may take the form of excerpting, and it is important to note that such excerpting may actually result in a new handbook. Thus Ælfric translated an anonymous excerpt of Priscian's extensive Institutiones grammaticae, known by the title Excerptiones de Prisciano, into Old English. 24 There is no proof that Ælfric himself was the compiler of the Excerptiones, but he might have prepared a special version for translation. Ælfric's achievements in his Old English Grammar and the tradition in vernacular instruction, which goes back to Ælfric's teacher Æthelwold of Winchester, have been discussed by Gneuss in various papers, and it is interesting in the present context that Ælfric's Old English grammatical terms were probably intended more as a didactic tool for comprehension than as the coinage of particular vernacular technical terminology.²⁵ Ælfric formulates explicitly what has been stated at the beginning of this section:

Gramma in Greek is *littera* in Latin and in English *letter*, and *grammatica* is the art of letters; this art opens up and preserves the Latin language, and no-one understands the meaning of Latin books fully if he has not mastered this art. This art is the origin and foundation of all erudition. A *grammaticus* is someone who masters the art of grammar fully, and the art [of grammar] has thirty parts.²⁶

The Anglo-Saxon period is thus primarily the age of the *grammaticus*; evidence of teaching that has come down to us centres on the ability to master Latin — with the help of classical books and their adaptations.

²⁴ The main emphasis of the *Excerptiones* is on inflectional morphology, but it also includes an overview of the thirty parts of grammar according to Isidore's *Etymologiae*, I. To a lesser extent, the *Excerptiones* also draw on other writings by Priscian as well as on Donatus's *Artes*; see *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, ed. by Porter, p. 2.

²⁵ See Gneuss, 'Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar', pp. 91–92; Gneuss, 'The Study of Language', pp. 84–88; and Gneuss, 'The First Edition of the Source of Ælfric's *Grammar*' (a review article of Porter's edition).

²⁶ Ælfric, *Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. by Zupitza, p. 289: 'GRAMMA on grecisc is LITTERA on leden and on englisc stæf, and GRAMMATICA is stæfcræft, se cræft geopenað and gehylt ledenspræce, and nan man næfð ledenboca andgit befullon, buton he þone cræft cunne. se cræft is ealra boclicra cræfta ordfruma and grundweall. GRAMMATICVS is, se ðe can ðone cræft grammatican befullan, and se cræft hæfð þritig todal'; my translation.

New Departures and Old Traditions: The Advent of Ciceronian Rhetoric in England and an Interpolation in Isidore's 'Etymologiae', II in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 239 (2244)

Hardly any rhetorical texts from antiquity and late antiquity were known in Anglo-Saxon England.²⁷ Manuscript evidence suggests that beside the relevant sections in encyclopaedic works by Isidore and Martianus Capella (and Carolingian commentaries in the later period) and perhaps also Book II of Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*, only the following were known: Cassiodorus's *Expositio psalmorum* with its extensive use of rhetorical figures (for the task of interpreting the psalms), the theoretical statements on the use of rhetoric for the preacher in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, IV as well as rhetorical/dialectical works on the topics — Cicero's *Topica* and Boethius's handbooks on the subject. Other evidence outside the manuscripts, too, suggests that none of the works of classical or late antique 'minor' rhetoricians, not even Alcuin's *De rhetorica*, had found their way to England. An English origin of Dublin, Trinity Coll., MS 927 with a copy of Cicero's *De inventione* is doubtful.²⁸

After the Norman Conquest the number of rhetorical manuscripts increases, as the Appendix (Part C) shows, and more texts became known. Above all, two rhetorical works by Cicero (*De inventione* and *Partitiones oratoriae*) and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* are evidenced by the manuscripts, as well as classical speeches.²⁹ Furthermore, at the beginning of the twelfth century, a Durham scribe copied commentaries on *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* into Durham, Cath. Libr., MS C.IV.7, fols 2–49, which once also contained a copy of Cicero's *De inventione*.³⁰ In his full study of the status, tradition, and use of

²⁷ See the evidence collected in Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*.

²⁸ Dublin, Trinity Coll., MS 927, from the second half of the eleventh century (Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 216.6; with imperfect beginning and end) was either written in England or France, according to Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin*, II (1991), 1196. Gameson considers the French origin as more likely (personal communication with H. Gneuss, to whom I owe thanks for communicating this piece of information to me).

²⁹ Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Rawlinson G.139, from the first half of the twelfth century includes Pseudo-Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores*, XIX (Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 760); interestingly, both Cicero's *Orationes in Catilinam* and the *Invectiva in Ciceronem* attributed to Sallust are the *upper* writings in the palimpsest manuscript Edinburgh, NLS, MS Advocates 18.7.8 from the end of the eleventh century (provenance: Thorney; see also Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 254, and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 291).

³⁰ See Ward, Ciceronian Rhetoric, p. 231. The lost text by Cicero is not mentioned by

these Ciceronian commentaries, also in light of their function as didactic material, John O. Ward points out that the text of the commentary on *De inventione* in the Durham manuscript is a copy of the most important full version from the early twelfth century. On the question of tutorship, Ward states that the authors of the rhetorical treatises and glosses addressed real needs of their contemporary audiences. The transmission, however, is fairly faithful to the original and thus '[t]he manuscripts of both treatises and commentaries would seem [...] to reflect moments of consumption rather than moments of production of a teacher or lecturer's words.' It may be mentioned in passing that a similar picture emerges with particular sets of didactic glosses (see above), transmitted with or without accompanying texts.

On the other hand, one of the 'grammatical uses of rhetoric' so clearly evident in the early Middle Ages is the employment of rules that had once been given for the effective production of texts, such as the precepts of rhetorical *colores*, to interpret and reveal the deeper meaning of (above all, biblical) texts.³² Such a use of rhetorical figures in Cassiodorus's commentary on the psalms provided a model for the whole period. In a different tradition, classifications of grammatical figures were transmitted, for instance, in Donatus's *Ars maior*, III and Bede's *De schematibus et tropis*. (The other side of the coin is that through the interpretation of model texts, students were also taught good literary style.) Textbooks on or including the figures and tropes were held in high esteem throughout late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

In Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the grammatical tradition of the vices and virtues (among them the figures) of speech is part of grammar (Book I), and a list of rhetorical figures is placed at the end of rhetoric and before dialectic (both share Book II). Apparently, this transition between rhetoric and dialectic in Book II was subject to modifications in the manuscript transmission. Marc Reydellet reports that some manuscripts — the earliest of which date from the eighth century — omit the rhetorical *vitia* and the figures of sense (II.xxi.3–48) at the end

Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 272. An edition of these commentaries, now attributed to William of Champeaux, is currently in preparation by John Scott, John O. Ward, and Juanita Feros Ruys for Brepols in the series Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis.

³¹ Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, p. 270, quotation at p. 226. On pp. 230–31, Ward discusses the immediate context of the texts in the Durham copy, compares them with the more presentable texts in York, Minster, MS XVI M 7, and concludes that both go back independently to an earlier manuscript or manuscripts.

³² See Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, Chaps II.1.4, II.2.1.1, III.1.7, III.2, and literature cited there.

of the book on rhetoric.³³ During my own inspection of some of the manuscripts of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, I discovered an interesting interpolation in Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Bodley 239 (2244), fols 17^{v2} – 18^{r1} , between the parts on rhetoric and dialectic in Book II. The manuscript was written at the turn of the eleventh or in the early years of the twelfth century, possibly in Normandy, whence it came to Exeter. The text of the interpolation derives from the end of Chapter 20 of Isidore's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, II, entitled 'Scriptura non solum historialiter, sed etiam mystice intelligenda est'.³⁴ As if it were a response to the list of the rhetorical figures, this passage demands that the multiple meanings of the Bible must be unlocked through exegetical means (among them the figures and tropes), thus clearly underlining the preponderance of grammatical thinking in the early Middle Ages:

This is what wisdom too says through Salomon: write the law twice and three times in your heart; for the Law [= Old Testament] is understood in a twofold manner, in that it should be understood first according to history and second according to the sense of the sacraments. But writing is threefold when it is taught not only historically and mystically but also morally what [people] have to do in regard to each situation. Whence also the ark, which was built by Noah, was made with two and three chambers, because the whole mystery [secret (contents)] of the Law stands for historical events within the church and also receives mystical sense and contains the fortification of those [the moral behaviour]. For the Law is written in parables and riddles and these parables and propositions themselves have mystical interpretations. This is why everything is hidden and concealed from the Jews. If they do not believe [in Christianity] they cannot reach [an] understanding of them [parables, etc.].³⁵

It is quite conceivable that this interpolation ultimately originated in a marginal commentary aimed at advanced readers or students.

³³ See Reydellet, 'La Diffusion des *Origines* d'Isidore de Séville', p. 415. The standard edition is Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. by Lindsay.

³⁴ Isidore, *De fide catholica*, ed. by Migne, cols 528C-29A.

^{35 &#}x27;Sic quoque per salomonem sapientia dicit. Scribe legem dupliciter & tripliciter in corde tuo. Dupliciter enim sentitur lex ut primum secundum hystoriam deinde secundum sacramentorum intelligentiam sentiatur. Tripliciter autem scribitur dum non solum hystorialiter uel mystice. Sed etiam moraliter quid in unamquanque [sic] gerere debeant edocetur. Vnde & archa que construebatur a noe. bicamerata & tricamerata fieri uidebantur [sic; Isidore: jubetur]. Quod intra ecclesiam omnis legis mysteria [Isidore: materia] & hystorie locum habeat mysticum sensum recipiat & infi[corr. o]rmationem eorum [Isidore: morum] contineat. In parabolis enim et enigmatibus scripta est lex & ipse parabole & propositiones habent mysticas & positiones. hinc est quod iudeis obtecta & clausa sunt omnia. Qui nisi crediderint ad eorum intelligentiam peruenire non possunt'; my translation. The words 'habent mysticas & positiones' do not appear in the PL edition of Isidore.

Old Traditions and New Departures: Collections of the 'logica vetus' and Anselm of Canterbury

The manuscript evidence attests to interest in dialectic both in the later Anglo-Saxon period and in early Anglo-Norman England (see Appendix, Part D). Particularly noteworthy in the present context are collections of the 'canon' of works which became known as *logica vetus* when, after the period surveyed here, Latin translations of the full cycle of Aristotle's works (the logica nova) were made.³⁶ The fullest extant manuscript in our list is particularly interesting because it was written in (the first half of) the tenth century in England, perhaps Canterbury, and thus it seems to be directly connected with the Benedictine Reform in England. Cambridge, CCC, MS 206 comprises Martianus Capella's encyclopaedia on dialectic (Book IV), Themistius's De decem categoriis (transmitted with notes), an incomplete copy of Pseudo-Apuleius's Peri hermenias, Boethius's translation of Porphyrius's Isagoge, Glosae de Isagogis from the second Commentary by Boethius, Alcuin's De dialectica, and Augustine's De dialectica. The series is only interrupted by glossed theological works by Boethius. Also interesting in the present context is Part D of the French manuscript Oxford, Merton Coll., MS 309, which gathers together Cicero's *Topica*, two texts on topics, ³⁷ and Boethius's *In Topica Ciceronis*. The manuscript shows traces of usage, consisting of a scattering of contemporary marginal and interlinear notes and diagrams.³⁸

The grammatical transmission context of Martianus Capella's Book IV in BL, MS Harley 3826 from Abingdon (from the turn of the eleventh century) suggests that these compilations were useful for teaching. The texts seem to have been collected as reference and information resources for the teachers. The fact

 $^{^{36}}$ Cambridge, Trinity Coll., MS O. 11a. 5^{12} (s. ix/x; N.E. France, in England before 1100?); Oxford, Merton Coll., MS 309, fols 114–201 (s. ix/x; France?) on topics; Cambridge, CCC, MS 206 (s. x¹; England); Lichfield, Cath. Libr., MS 1a (s. x²; France?); Durham, Cath. Libr., MS B.IV.6, fols 142–69 (s. xii¹; Durham), ?Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS Msc.Ph.1 (formerly: HJ.IV.16) (s. x; Brittany [or England?]). Further manuscripts containing works on the art of dialectic were written in England. On the study of dialectic in Anglo-Saxon England, see also Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, Chaps 11.1.7 and 111.1.4.1.

³⁷ Listed by Gneuss as 'two texts on rhetoric' (Gneuss, Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, no. 677.6). According to Dirk Kurt Kranz, the two texts Speculatio de rethoricae cognatione and Locorum rethoricorum distincio (Patrologia Latina, LXIV, cols 1217–22C and 1221D–24, respectively) are derived and adapted from Boethius's De differentiis topicis; see Kranz, 'Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus'.

³⁸ See *Codices Boethiani*, ed. by Passalacqua, Gibson, and Smith, I: *Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland*, p. 235.

that the manuscripts were not only kept but also used is, for instance, indicated by an addition to the excerpt from Martianus Capella on the first folio of the collection in Cambridge, CCC, MS 206.³⁹ Further indications given by the texts themselves remain to be collected.⁴⁰ A Latin 'flyting' poem on school subjects suggests that dialectic — as summarized in Martianus Capella — was taught at Æthelwold's school in Winchester. In the *Altercatio magistri et discipuli*, a student challenges his teacher on his ability to write poetry, and also on his knowledge of dialectic (based on Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, IV. 336–38; 344–51):

Be humble, I pray you; close your foul mouth right now. And if you don't yet wish to cease, tell what you know, please. What is the *genus* which distinguishes the *species* and imparts the characteristic feature? Tell what are the six dialectical norms; say what is the difference between the *genus* and the whole, if you know it. I ask you to say how the individual part differs from the species, and what is particular to the ten resplendent predicates which keep the totality of expression under their control by means of ten subjects. Tell us what a common property is.⁴¹

The history of logic and/or dialectic in medieval thought and its interrelations with its sister arts in the trivium is much too complex to be adequately reviewed here. We can only briefly mention that three early twelfth-century manuscripts in the Appendix (no. D. 13), which were known and/or copied in England, include an important case of a 'new departure'. Writing in the late eleventh century, Anselm of Canterbury merits the title of 'the father of Scholasticism', according to Desmond Paul Henry, due to his pervading theme of the contrast between *usus loquendi* on the one hand, that is, the ordinary use of language described by grammarians, and *significatio per se* on the other, that is, the technical language free

³⁹ See Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no number (p. 61).

⁴⁰ Loredana Teresi observes that the glosses seem to derive from an earlier exemplar and that the codex does not show many traces of usage; see Teresi, 'The Drawing on the Margin of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 206, F. 38r', p. 132.

⁴¹ 'conquinisce, precor; foedum iam claude labellum! | si necdum cessare uelis, dic quod, rogo, si scis. | quid genus est distans species idionque colorans? | bis ternae que sint normae dialecticae, inqui; | inter quid genus et totum sit, si sapis, infi. | quid pars a specie distet, te posco, profari, | quidque sit et rutilis proprium bis quinque loquelis | remis quae denis quicquid uersatur in orbe | sub ditione sua retinent. commune quid, ede'; ed. and trans. in Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester', pp. 256–57. On the flyting tradition in Anglo-Saxon England within and outside the school context, see Knappe, 'Flyting und die Rhetorik des verbalen Konflikts'.

of anomalies to which logicians are committed.⁴² According to Peter Boschung, Anselm's *De grammatico*, which was presumably written in the 1080s while the author was still at Bec, can be viewed as an introduction to dialectic as the theory of proper dispute which, while rooted in the Boethian tradition, pointed ahead to the full reception of Aristotle in several respects.⁴³

A Dialogue Excerpt from Isidore's 'Etymologiae' and 'Differentiae' in London, British Library, Royal 5. E. xvi as Teaching Aid?

Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* was a fundamental source of knowledge for early medieval scholars and teachers, which is reflected in the extant manuscripts. It has often been noted that the *Etymologiae* were frequently excerpted for specific kinds of knowledge.⁴⁴ Such excerpts from the *Etymologiae* feature, for instance, in the medical miscellany BL, MS Sloane 475, fols 125–231 (Bk IV.V),⁴⁵ and in Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS Msc.Ph.1, where chapters from the end of the book on dialectic (Bk II.xxix—xxxi, on definitions, topoi, and opposites) are included. In Lendinara's opinion, specialized excerpts from the *Etymologiae* 'should be rather reckoned [...] among reference works' than as parts of educational compilations.⁴⁶ In addition to what has been said on the use of compilations above, however, when excerpts such as these form a compilation in question-and-answer form, the didactic potential of the text definitely increases. This section is about the use of such excerpts for the teaching of theology, and afterwards divisions of philosophy will be viewed in the light of teaching practice.

Textbooks in dialogue form of course do not always reflect actual teaching practices. They had a long tradition (as seen, for instance, in Donatus's *Ars minor* and a number of short, anonymous grammatical compilations in question-and-answer form) but were particularly popular in the Carolingian period and beyond.⁴⁷ Alcuin is a case in point. He chose to present his handbooks on

⁴² Henry, The Logic of Saint Anselm, p. 12. Henry, Commentary on 'De grammatico'.

⁴³ See Boschung, *From a Topical Point of View*. The topics that Boschung emphasizes are the theory of disputation which was later formalized into the *quaestio disputata*, the analysis of fallacious reasoning, and the theory of signification in Anselm.

⁴⁴ The influence of Isidore's *Etymologiae* as a global source of knowledge increased substantially after the monastic reform, as Lazzari has found in her study of glossaries; see Lazzari, 'Isidore's *Etymologiae* in Anglo-Saxon Glossaries'.

⁴⁵ See Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 498.1.

⁴⁶ Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts', p. 79.

 $^{^{47}}$ Irvine argues that the early eighth-century *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* drew on such com-

grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic in this style — but they were probably much too dense in information to have been taught in that way. The case is different with a new kind of grammar which was developed in the ninth and tenth centuries, the 'parsing grammar'. Here as well as in the colloquies, the dialogue form can well be imagined to have had an actual relation to practice in the classroom. However, the function of an anonymous unedited dialogue compilation of excerpts from Isidore's *Differentiae* and *Etymologiae*, situated between an (incomplete) copy of Pseudo-Augustine's *De unitate sanctae Trinitatis* and Isidore's *De fide catholica* in the late eleventh-century Salisbury manuscript BL, MS Royal 5. E. xvi (fols 1^v-19^r), is not immediately clear. It will have to be studied in more detail than is possible in this context, but some first observations will address the question of how far this compilation may have originally been a teaching aid.

The three texts in the manuscript all begin with questions concerning the Trinity. This looks like a good reason why they are transmitted together in this relatively late manuscript. There are indications that the compilation of excerpts, or part of it, originally belonged to the third text, namely Isidore's *De fide catholica*. First, an *explicit* after the incomplete text of Pseudo-Augustine pointing to a work by Isidore seems to indicate that the current order is not the original one. Second, the contents of what I consider to be the first of two series of excerpts seems to refer to points raised in *De fide catholica*. It begins with questions about the difference between *deus* and *dominus*, *trinitas* and *unitas*, and the relation between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, excerpted from *Differentiae*, II.i.1–iii.7 (cols 70–71). These topics are conspicuously those discussed towards the beginning of *De fide catholica*, I.iii. and I.iv (cols 454–60), respectively. The

pilations, reworking the question-and-answer form into direct discourse (Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, p. 285).

- ⁴⁸ This new kind of grammar was laid out in such a way so as to start from one particular Latin word which was explained grammatically by a series of questions and answers; see Law, 'Grammar, Latin', p. 217, and literature cited there. See in particular the description and edition of an eleventh-century parsing grammar by Bayless, '*Beatus quid est* and the Study of Grammar'.
- ⁴⁹ See Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 460 and also no. 188.8 (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., MS O. 2. 30, fols 1–70, from the turn of the twelfth century) with the same content.
- ⁵⁰ The second series begins on fol. 12^r, where there is an *explicit* ('Explicit liber S Ysidori') followed by another *incipit* 'Incipit Ysidorus De Div[er]sitate aquarum hispalensis epis[copi]', under which excerpts on kinds of water, wind (this has its own section title 'De ventis' on fol. 13^r), and other phenomena are gathered, apparently taken from the *Etymologiae*. On fol. 19^r there is a last *explicit* of the *liber Isidori Ispalensis Episcopi*. This second series is only partially written in dialogue form.

end of this first series of excerpts, on *sapientia*, *eloquentia*, the parts of philosophy, and the virtues and vices (excerpted from the end of *Differentiae*, II.xxxviii.147–xxxix.148–53; see also 154–58 (cols 93–95)) fit in quite well with the end of *De fide catholica*, II.xxvii (cols 535–36), 'Quomodo sacramentum Eucharistiae praefiguratum est', which in turn refers to Proverbs 9. 1, 'Wisdom has built itself a house etc.'51 In between, among other topics, the kinds of history are discussed (according to the book on grammar *Etymologiae*, I.xliv) and the kinds of falsehood (*mendacium: incredibile, impossibile, contrarium*) from the chapter on 'proof and disproof' in the book on rhetoric (*Etymologiae*, II.xii.4–6). These passages could perhaps once have referred to *De fide catholica*, I.xxxviii and, possibly, II.vii (cols 486 and 512–13).

If the relations of subject matter between *De fide catholica* and the excerpts from Isidore's widely known foundational text of medieval knowledge reflect the compilator's original intention, then the excerpts in their dialogue format can be taken as an aid in teaching *De fide catholica*, and scraps from the *Differentiae* and *Etymologiae* are intended to provide for the students' background knowledge. The excerpts would have served several functions in relation to teaching: they could have served the teacher as a prop in preparing his lessons, as notes from which to present information, and as a prompt for revision in class to check the students' progress. The text as we have it in BL, MS Royal 5. E. xvi looks like a copy of a much-used, interpolated, and slightly mixed-up version of a 'commentary' on selected points in the theological work by Isidore, shaped in questionand-answer form to serve as a pedagogical tool. It is one of many indications of Isidore's authority in the world of learning in the English early Middle Ages. Further didactic dialogues which can be found in Gameson's inventory emphasize the popularity of this method.⁵²

One last point in this context relates to the above-mentioned excerpt of the parts of philosophy in the dialogue. They correspond to the rather peculiar seven-part division of *physica* in Isidore's *Differentiae*. This division was popular in the early Irish tradition as well as in diagrams that were often inserted between Alcuin's *De rhetorica* and *De dialectica*. These diagrams were the starting point of continental adaptations of the seven-part *physica*. ⁵³ Texts and diagrams in the

⁵¹ See Isidore, *Differentiarum sive 'De proprietate sermonum libri duo'*, ed. by Migne. Within the first series of the excerpts, there seems to be an interpolation titled 'De Sinodis quattuor' (continuing with further topics), drawn from *Etymologiae*.

⁵² See Salisbury, Cath. Libr., MS 9 and Salisbury, Cath. Libr., MS 115 (Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, nos 825 and 855).

⁵³ See Bischoff, 'Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften'.

manuscripts show that there was indeed great interest in the parts of philosophy in the early Middle Ages.⁵⁴ It points towards an endeavour to localize and contextualize the disciplines, and it is often either connected with compilations of the arts, or grammatical works, or both. Cases in point are 'De divisione philosophiae', which is usually accompanied by diagrams and found, among other manuscripts, in the dialectical compilation Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS Msc.Ph.1 (formerly: HJ.IV.16),⁵⁵ and 'Pauca de philosophiae partibus' in the grammatical collection Worcester, Cath. Libr., MS Q.5. The latter is particularly interesting in that it is cast in the form of a dialogue between teacher and student, and because it reflects contemporary teaching by giving both grammar and computus a place in the system.⁵⁶ Both the diagrams, which structured the matter clearly and eased memorization, and the dialogue form suggest the usefulness of these discussions of the parts of philosophy for teaching.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to highlight indications of the role of the classics in the teaching of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic as evidenced by the existing manuscripts from the period c. 950 to 1130 in England. The focus has been not so much on classical literature (excepting the section on glosses above) as on the role of the direct and indirect impact of pre-medieval instructional texts on the teaching. Observations concerning the language arts, which conform to the three criteria recently suggested as indicative of the classroom use of a given (instructional) text or manuscript, have also been presented.

We have stressed that the presence of modified, alongside full versions of teaching texts is evident in the tenth-century *Excerptiones de Prisciano* and Ælfric's further adaptation and translation of this text in his Old English *Grammar*. The modification of the end of Isidore's book on rhetoric in *Etymologiae*, II in the light of 'grammatical rhetoric' also belongs here, as does a dialogue excerpt of Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *Differentiae*, which might well have served as an aid in teaching Isidore's *De fide catholica*. Secondly, didactic glosses and commentaries abound in educational manuscripts of the school authors, mainly for grammatical instruction with the aim of teaching how to read and interpret the Latin authors

⁵⁴ For early medieval England, see Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, pp. 172–76 and 196–203.

⁵⁵ See Bischoff, 'Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften', pp. 273–74, n. 2.

⁵⁶ See Knappe, Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik, pp. 201-02.

correctly; thus they represent the most obvious educational use of the classics. Furthermore, the commentary tradition on Ciceronian rhetoric is witnessed for the first time in early Anglo-Norman England. Finally, the layout and disposition of the texts for educational purposes joins the instructional use of compilations of handbooks in the case of dialectical compilations and grammatical compilations which serve as information resources for the teacher. Schematic diagrams to visualize the structure of a complex exposition were clearly devised for didactic benefit.

While commentaries are usually regarded as pedagogical devices, the complex question of the didactic function of glosses has been discussed in a number of contributions. One of the questions asked in this chapter was whether it can be claimed for other changes, such as manipulations of texts (additions) and especially dialogue excerpts, that they were devised for the classroom. The questionand-answer excerpts certainly demand closer attention in the future, and there is no doubt that further questions should be discussed. Many of the manuscripts containing instructional texts on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic which were known in England before c. 1130 (listed in the Appendix) call for closer investigation with regard to the identification and description especially of shorter texts, notes, and all material traces that point to the use of the manuscripts in the interaction between teacher and student.

APPENDIX:

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN OR KNOWN IN ENGLAND FROM THE EIGHTH CENTURY TO C. 1130 CONTAINING WORKS FOR INSTRUCTION IN THE LANGUAGE ARTS

This list has been compiled on the basis of Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*; Gneuss, 'Addenda and Corrigenda'; and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*. It should be noted that although the content of the manuscripts is presented quite fully in these inventories, neither compiler claims to have listed all the (minor) works for each manuscript, and so this list cannot be considered complete.

The list is ordered according to subject area (A–D), author or title, and chronologically according to date of manuscript origin within the subject area and author/title. The information given in brackets refers to the date and place of origin (Gneuss) and provenance (Gameson; square brackets in references to Gneuss = after 1100) of the part of the manuscript containing the work in question. Additional information from Gameson is provided only when it deviates from Gneuss.

A. Encyclopaedists: Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic

1. Isidore, Etymologiae (at least Books I–II together; see also B and D)

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 7585 (s. $ix^{2/4}$ or ix^2 ; France, and x^2 England), Gneuss 889
- Books I–X: Oxford, Queen's College, MS 320 (s. x med.; Canterbury?), Gneuss 682 with 'Addenda and Corrigenda'
- London, British Library, MS Royal 6. C. i (s. xi¹ or xi²; St Augustine's, Canterbury, [prov. ibid.]), Gneuss 469; (s. xi²), Gameson 521
- From Books 1 and 11 in dialogue form: London, British Library, MS Royal 5. E. xvi (s. xi ex.; Salisbury), Gneuss 460; Gameson 500
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 239 (2244) (s. xi/xii or xii in.; Normandy?, [prov. Exeter]), Gneuss 561; (s. xii in.), Gameson 652
- ?From Books 1 and 11 in dialogue form: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 2. 30 (1134), fols 1–70 (s. xi/xii [prov. Southwark, Augustinian priory of St Mary

Overy)], Gneuss 188.8; 'Extracts in dialogue form from Isidore, *De differentiis rerum* and *Etymologiae* ('*De diuersitate aquarum*')' (s. xii in.), Gameson 164 Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.15 (s. xii¹; Durham), Gameson 264 Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 112 (s. xii¹; Salisbury), Gameson 853

2. Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii

With Welsh glosses: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153 (s. ix ex. or x^{1/3}; Wales, supplemented in England s. x¹), Gneuss 48

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 330, part I (s. xi/xii or xii in.; Normandy? Malmesbury? [prov. Malmesbury]), Gneuss 95; (addition at Malmesbury s. xii¹ by William of Malmesbury: Interlinear and marginal gloss, extracted from that of Remigius of Auxerre), Gameson 80

3. Dunchad (Martin of Laon?), Commentary on Martianus Capella

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 330, part II (s. ix ex.; France, prov. England s. x, [prov. Malmesbury]), Gneuss 96

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 153 (s. x¹ or x med. or x^{3/4}; S. England, perhaps Canterbury), Gneuss 48

4. Remigius of Auxerre, Commentary on Martianus Capella

Fragment: Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2981 (5) (s. ix/x or x¹; Winchester), Gneuss 127

London, British Library, MS Royal 15. A. xxxiii (s. ix/x or x in.; Rheims, prov. England s. x^2 , [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 490

Fragment (flyleaf): Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 10 (s. xi in.; Continent, [prov. Salisbury]), Gneuss 700.1

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 330, part I (addition at Malmesbury s. xii¹ by William of Malmesbury: Interlinear and marginal gloss, extracted from that of Remigius of Auxerre), Gameson 80

5. Cassiodorus, Institutiones, II

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 15. 14 (939) part I (s. x¹, N. France or Flanders, [prov. St Augustine's, Canterbury]; in England before 1000?), Gneuss 185 (and 185.1)

B. Grammar (see also A)

1. Anonymus ad Cuimnanum, Expositio Latinitatis

St Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 2¹ (25. 2. 16) (s. viii¹ [prov. c. 800 Murbach]), Gneuss 933

2. Pompeius, Commentum artis Donati

Extracts: St Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 2¹ (25. 2. 16) (s. viii¹ [prov. c. 800 Murbach]), Gneuss 933

3. Sergius, Explanationes in Donatum

St Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 2¹ (25.2.16) (s. viii¹ [prov. c. 800 Murbach]), Gneuss 933

4. Bonifatius, Ars grammatica

Fragment: Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, MS Hr 2, 18 (s. viii med.; S. England), Gneuss 849.3

5. Aldhelm, Epistola ad Acircium [De metris; De pedum regulis]

Fragment: Miskolc, Lévay József Library s.n. (s. viii; S. England), Gneuss 850 Excerpt: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2410 (s. x ex.–xi in.; probably Christ Church, Canterbury [or St Augustine's?]), Gneuss 903

6. Isidore, Etymologiae

I.xxi-xxvii ('De notis sententiarum' [...] 'De orthographia'): London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A. xv, fols 3–117 (s. viii² with s. ix¹ and ix/x additions: N.E. France, [prov. England by s. ix/x]), Gneuss 311.e

Excerpts from Book 1: London, British Library, MS Harley 5977, nos 64 and 71 (s. x/xi or xi; Continent? In England before 1100?), Gneuss 442.4

Excerpt from 1.xxi ('De notis sententiarum'): London, British Library, MS Royal 15. C. xi, fols 113–194 (s. xi/xii; Salisbury), Gneuss 497.2; (s. xii in.), Gameson 565

7. Priscian, Institutio de nomine, pronomine et verbo

Fragment: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, frag. Aug. 122 [with Aug. perg. 116 (binding), and Zürich, Staatsarchiv, MS A. G. 19, Nr. XIII, fols 26–27] (s. viii ex.; probably Northumbria), Gneuss 831.7

- Excerpt: Columbia, University of Missouri, Ellis Library, Fragmenta manuscripta F. M. 2 (s. ix; probably Wales, prov. Winchester by s. x in.), Gneuss 809.9
- Sankt-Peterburg, Российская национальная библиотека (Russian National Library), MS O. v. XVI. 1, fols 1–16 (s. x in. or x¹), Gneuss 844
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian I, fols 2–55 (s. x med.; probably St Augustine's, Canterbury, [prov. ibid.]), Gneuss 326
- Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q. 5 (s. x ex.; Christ Church, Canterbury, [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 765

8. Grammatical Notes and Treatises

- Notes on the parts of speech: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 42 (4117) (s. ix^{1/3}; Brittany; whole manuscript s. x in., England, prov. Glastonbury?; prov. Christ Church, Canterbury s. x/xi, prov. Worcester by s. xi in.), Gneuss 629
- *Grammatical notes*: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 4. 42 (s. ix²; Wales, prov. s. x/xi W. England), Gneuss 7
- Excerpt from a grammarian 'Terrentius': Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O. III. 2 (s. ix²; France, prov. England [Salisbury?] s. xi ex., [prov. Hereford by s. xii med.]), Gneuss 263
- Grammatical examples: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 2825, fols 57–81 (s. ix/x; N.E. France, prov. England by s. x med.), Gneuss 882
- Two grammatical treatises: London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A. vi, fols 2–53 (s. x; probably x med., W. England or Wales?), Gneuss 321
- *Grammatical note*: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1283, fol. 114 (s. x²), Gneuss 918
- *Grammatical texts and glosses*: Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q. 5 (s. x ex.; Christ Church, Canterbury, [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 765
- Grammatical note: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 326 (s. x/xi; Christ Church, Canterbury), Gneuss 93
- Grammatical notes and Latin grammar: London, British Library, MS Harley 3271 (s. xi¹), Gneuss 435
- Treatise on Latin verbs: London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A. ii, fols 10–135 (s. xi med.), Gneuss 336

Grammatical notes: Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.22, fols 27–231 (s. xi/xii); manuscript s. xi ex. (before 1096), Durham (or N. France?) or St Augustine's, Canterbury, prov. Durham), Gneuss 236

Grammatical note: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 9. 17 (819), fols 1–48 (s. xi/xii), Gneuss 182

9. Audax, Excerpta

Excerpt: Columbia, University of Missouri, Ellis Library, Fragmenta manuscripta F. M. 2 (s. ix; probably Wales, prov. Winchester by s. x in.), Gneuss 809.9

10. Beda, De orthographia

Excerpt: Columbia, University of Missouri, Ellis Library, Fragmenta manuscripta F. M. 2 (s. ix; probably Wales, prov. Winchester by s. x in.), Gneuss 809.9

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 221, fols 1–24 (s. x¹ or x med. or x²; perhaps St Augustine's, Canterbury [or Brittany?]), Gneuss 69

London, British Library, MS Harley 3826 (s. x/xi; probably Abingdon), Gneuss 438

11. Eutyches, Ars de verbo

Incomplete: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium F. 4. 32 (2176) (s. ix^{2/4} or ix med.; Brittany, prov. Wales s. x), Gneuss 538

12. Priscian, Institutiones grammaticae

Excerpt: Columbia, University of Missouri, Ellis Library, Fragmenta manuscripta F. M. 2 (s. ix; probably Wales, prov. Winchester by s. x in.), Gneuss 809.9

Fragment: Canterbury, Cathedral Library and Archives, Add. 127/19 [with Maidstone, Kent County Archives Office, PRC 49/1 a and b] (s. ix/x or x¹; probably N. France, prov. probably St Augustine's, Canterbury), Gneuss 211

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- Oxford, Exeter College, MS 4 (s. xi/xii, England or Normandy), Gameson 771 *Fragment*: Oxford, Merton College, MS E. 3. 20 (s. xii in.), Gameson 791
- With mostly contemporary gloss: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 4. 34 (s. xii¹; Norwich), Gameson 35
- Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS B.P.L. 114B (s. xii¹; St Albans), Gameson 327
- Oxford, University College, MS 114, fols 6–195 (s. xii¹; Continent or England), Gameson 804
- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ross. 500 (s. xii¹; ?Canterbury; Italy), Gameson 939

13. Beda, De arte metrica

- Excerpt from Chap. xxv: London, British Library, MS Royal 15. A. xvi (s. ix^{4/4} or ix/x; N. France or England?; St Augustine's, Canterbury by s. x² [prov. ibid.]), Gneuss 489
- Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q.5 (s. x ex.; Christ Church, Canterbury, [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 765
- Excerpt: Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 236 (s. x/xi, prov. Mont Saint-Michel by s. xi ex.), Gneuss 784
- Excerpts, fragment: London, British Library, MS Harley 5977, nos 64 and 71 (s. x/xi or xi; Continent? In England before 1100?), Gneuss 442.4
- Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 2. 24 (1128) (s. xii¹ [pre ?1124] Rochester), Gameson 163

14. Alcuin, De orthographia

- *Incomplete*: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 221, fols 1–24 (s. x¹ or x med. or x²; perhaps St Augustine's, Canterbury [or Brittany?]), Gneuss 69
- London, British Library, MS Harley 3826 (s. x/xi, probably Abingdon), Gneuss 438

15. Remigius of Auxerre, Commentary on Priscian, *Institutio de nomine, pronomine et verbo*

London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian i, fols 2–55 (s. x med.; probably St Augustine's, Canterbury, [prov. ibid.]), Gneuss 326

16. Agroecius, Ars de orthographia

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 221, fols 25–64 (s. x; England, [?or s. ix; Continent, prov. England s. x or xi]), Gneuss 69.5

17. Caper, De orthographia

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 221, fols 25–64 (s. x; England, [?or s. ix; Continent, prov. England s. x or xi]), Gneuss 69.5

18. Cassiodorus, De orthographia

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 221, fols 25–64 (s. x; England, [?or s. ix; Continent, prov. England s. x or xi]), Gneuss 69.5

19. Colloquies and Conversation Phrases (cf. also nos B. 28 and B. 29, below)

- Colloquium (conversation lesson) 'De raris fabulis': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 572 (2026), fols 1–50 (s. x; probably Wales [prov. Wales, s. x ex. England (Glastonbury?), s. xi probably New Minster, Winchester; s. xi ex. St Augustine's, Canterbury]), Gneuss 583
- Conversation phrases in Latin and Greek: Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 236 (s. x/xi, prov. Mont Saint-Michel by s. xi ex.), Gneuss 784
- Four Latin colloquies [...]: Oxford, St John's College, MS 154 (s. xi in., [prov. Durham]), Gneuss 686
- Colloquy about the Latin language: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 865 (2737), fols 89–96 (s. xi¹, [prov. Exeter]), Gneuss 608

20. Donatus, Ars maior

- London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A. vi, fols 2–53 (s. x; probably x med., W. England or Wales?), Gneuss 321
- Book I, excerpt: Genève (Cologny-Genève), Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS 175 (s. x² or xi in.; Canterbury??), Gneuss 829

21. A 'parsing grammar'

London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A. vi, fols 2–53 (s. x, probably x med.; W. England or Wales?), Gneuss 321

22. Excerptiones de Prisciano

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 586, fols 16–131 (s. x² or xi¹), Gneuss 902

Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS M. 16. 2 (47) (with London, British Library, MS Additional 32246) (s. xi¹; probably Abingdon [or Continent?]), Gneuss 775

23. Beda, De schematibus et tropis

Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q.5 (s. x ex.; Christ Church, Canterbury, [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 765

Fragment: London, British Library, MS Harley 521, fol. 2 (s. x/xi; St Augustine's, Canterbury), Gneuss 418.8, with 'Addenda and Corrigenda'

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 2. 24 (1128) (s. xii¹ [pre ?1124]; Rochester), Gameson 163

24. Israel the Grammarian, De arte metrica

Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q. 5 (s. x ex.; Christ Church, Canterbury, [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 765

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2410 (s. x ex.–xi in.; probably Christ Church, Canterbury [or St Augustine's?]), Gneuss 903

25. Table of Metrical Feet

Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q.5 (s. x ex.; Christ Church, Canterbury, [prov. Worcester]), Gneuss 765

26. Glossary of Grammatical Terms

Glossaries, including Greek-Latin list of grammatical and metrical terms: London, British Library, MS Harley 3826 (s. x/xi; probably Abingdon), Gneuss 438

27. Ælfric of Eynsham, *Grammar* (partly with glossary)

- Glossaries extracted from: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 35 (6467) (s. xi in.; manuscript from s. x, Continent, prov. England by s. xi in.), Gneuss 541
- Oxford, St John's College, MS 154 (s. xi in., [prov. Durham]), Gneuss 686
- *Incomplete*: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 449, fols 42–96 (s. xi¹), Gneuss 115
- London, British Library, Harley 3271 (s. xi1), Gneuss 435
- Fragment: London, British Library, MS Harley 5915, fols 8 and 9 (s. xi¹), Gneuss 441
- *Fragment*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS anglais 67 (s. xi¹), Gneuss 876
- Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B. III. 32 (s.xi¹ or xi med.; probably Christ Church [St Augustine's?], Canterbury), Gneuss 244
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A. ii, fols 10–135 (s. xi med.), Gneuss 336
- London, British Library, MS Harley 107 (s. xi med.; S.E. England), Gneuss 414 *Fragment*: London, British Library, MS Royal 12. G. xii, fols 2–9 (s. xi med.), Gneuss 480
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A. x, fols 3–101 (s. xi² or xi³/4), Gneuss 331; (xi³/4; extensive annotation of the text in Latin, French and English, s. xii²), Gameson 383
- Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh. 1. 10 (s. xi^{3/4}; Exeter), Gneuss 13
- London, British Library, MS Royal 15. B. xxii (s. xi^{3/4} or xi²), Gneuss 494; (s. xi^{3/4}), Gameson 562
- Abbreviated: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 9. 17 (819), fols 1–48 (s. xi/xii), Gneuss 182; Gameson 178

28. Ælfric of Eynsham, Colloquy

- Expanded by Ælfric Bata: Oxford, St John's College, MS 154 (s. xi in., [prov. Durham]), Gneuss 686
- *Incomplete*: Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS M. 16. 2 (47) [with London, British Library, Additional 32246] (addition at Abingdon, s. xi¹), Gneuss 775
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols 2–173 (s. xi med.; Christ Church, Canterbury), Gneuss 363

29. Ælfric Bata, Colloquies

Two colloquies: Oxford, St John's College, MS 154 (s. xi in., [prov. Durham]), Gneuss 686

30. Dialogue on Declinations ('Prima declinatio quot litteras terminales habet?')

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.III.32 (s. xi¹ or xi med.; probably Christ Church [St Augustine's?], Canterbury), Gneuss 244

London, British Library, MS Harley 107 (s. xi med.; S.E. England), Gneuss 414 London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A. x, fols 3–101 (s. xi² or xi³/4), Gneuss 331; (Addition s. xi²–xii), Gameson 383

31. Remigius of Auxerre, Commentary on Donatus, Ars minor

Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS M. 16. 2 (47) (with London, British Library, MS Additional 32246) (addition at Abingdon s. xi¹), Gneuss 775

32. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, Enchiridion

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 328 (6882 and 7420) (s. xi med.; Christ Church?, Canterbury), Gneuss 526

Excerpts: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 32 (s. xi ex.; manuscript 1012 x 1030, perhaps 1021 x 1022; St Augustine's?, Canterbury, prov. S.W. England s. xi² [Glastonbury?]), Gneuss 26

33. Glossae super Priscianum, inc. 'Circa hanc artem primo considerandum est'

Cambridge, St John's College, MS 87 (D. 12), part i (s. xi²; Fance, [prov. Dover]), Gameson 121

34. Phocas, Ars de nomine et verbo

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium F. 2. 14 (2657) (s. xi² or xi/xii; Sherborne?, [prov. Sherborne]), Gneuss 535; (s. xi/xii; Sherborne), Gameson 623

35. Priscian?, De accentibus

- *Incomplete*: Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 28 (Q. B. 11) (s. xi ex.; France, [prov. Durham]), Gneuss 123
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- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ross. 500 (s. xii¹; ?Canterbury; Italy), Gameson 939

36. Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii

Extract 'De litteris': London, British Library, MS Royal 12. C. i (s. xii in., [pre-?1124; possibly pre-1107]; Rochester), Gameson 540

37. Rectae orthographiae ratio

Oxford, University College, MS 114, fols 6–195 (s. xii¹; Continent or England), Gameson 804, Index of Additions, c. s. xii²/4–xiii in.

C. Rhetoric (see also A)

1. Cassiodorus, Expositio psalmorum

- Fragment: Cambridge, St John's College, MS Aa. 5. 1, fol. 67 (s. viii¹; Northumbria, or s. viii or ix¹; S. England?, [prov. Ramsey]), Gneuss 154
- Abbreviated, fragment: Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek Fragm. K16: Z.3/1 (s. viii¹; Northumbria), Gneuss 822
- *Breviate version*: Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.30 (s. viii^{2/4}; Northumbria [York?], [prov. Durham]), Gneuss 237
- Additions of excerpts in the Roman Psalter (contemporary): London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. i (s. viii^{2/4}; probably St Augustine's, Canterbury [prov. whole manuscript St Augustine's, Canterbury]), Gneuss 381 with 'Addenda and Corrigenda'
- Psalterium Gallicanum with psalter collects (and with commentary mainly from Cassiodorus): Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 272 (England; s. xi med. or xi², [prov. Christ Church, Canterbury]), Gneuss 77

Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 4406, part ?1 [with Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri Library, MS Rare: L/PA/3381.A1/F7] (s. xii¹), Gameson 15

CI-CL: Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 59 (s. xii¹; Salisbury), Gameson 836

2. Boethius, In topica Ciceronis

Oxford, Merton College, MS 309, fols 114–201 (s. ix/x; France?), Gneuss 677.6

3. Cicero, Topica

Fragment: Oxford, Merton College, MS 309, fols 114–201 (s. ix/x; France?), Gneuss 677.6

4. Communis speculatio de rethoricae et logicae cognatione

Oxford, Merton College, MS 309, fols 114–201 (s. ix/x; France?), Gneuss 677.6 [one of the 'two texts on rhetoric']

5. Locorum rethoricorum distinctio

Oxford, Merton College, MS 309, fols 114–201 (s. ix/x; France?), Gneuss 677.6 [one of the 'two texts on rhetoric']

6. Cicero, De inventione

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 927 (s. xi²; France or England?), Gneuss 216.6 [but English origin is doubtful]

London, British Library, MS Harley 2624 (s. xii¹; St Albans), Gameson 443 Oxford, Balliol College, MS 273 (s. xii¹), Gameson 767

[7. Augustine, De doctrina christiana, Book IV]

Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 106 (s. xi ex.; Salisbury), Gneuss 717; Gameson 848

Full text and short extracts: London, British Library, MS Cotton Appendix 26 (s. xii¹), Gameson 364

Fragment: London, British Library, MS Cotton Appendix 56, fols 1–4 with Cotton Vespasian E. iv, fols 203–210 (s. xii¹; Worcester), Gameson 365

London, British Library, MS Royal 5. B. xii, fols 4–165 (s. xii¹ [pre ?1124]; Rochester), Gameson 481

Extracts: London, British Library, MS Egerton 3721 (s. xii^{2/4} [1119x46]; St Albans), Gameson 425

8. Glossae super De inventione rhetorica Ciceronis, inc.: 'In primis materia et intentio huius Rethoris'

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS C.IV.7, fols 2–49 (s. xii in.; Durham), Gameson 272

9. Glossae super De ratione dicendi ad Herennium pseudo-Ciceronis ('Etsi in familiaribus')

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS C.IV.7, fols 2–49 (s. xii in.; Durham), Gameson 272

[10. Alcuin, beginning of *De rhetorica*; Versus, 'Qui rogo ciuiles cupiat cognoscere' (Walter, 15640)]

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.6, fols 142–169 (s. xii¹; Durham), Gameson 254

11. Cicero, Partitiones oratoriae

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson G. 139 (s. xii¹; Malmesbury), Gameson 760

12. (Pseudo-Cicero), Rhetorica ad Herennium

London, British Library, MS Harley 2624 (s. xii¹; St Albans), Gameson 443 Oxford, Balliol College, MS 272 (s. xii¹), Gameson 766

D. Dialectic (see also A and works on Topics under C)

1. Themistius, De decem categoriis

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS C. 219 (4) [with Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijks-universiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q. 2, fol. 60] (s. ix ex.; Wales, or S.W. England?, [prov. Fleury?]), Gneuss 795

Fragment: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 11a. 5¹² (s. ix/x; N.E. France, in England before 1100?), Gneuss 200.5

With notes: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 206 (s. x¹; England [perhaps Canterbury] rather than N.E. France, prov. England [Canterbury, or St Albans, or Bury St Edmunds?] s. xi/xii), Gneuss 67

2. Aristoteles (Boethius), Categoriae

Fragment: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 11a. 5¹² (s. ix/x; N.E. France, in England before 1100?), Gneuss 200.5

Fragment: Lichfield, Cathedral Library, MS 1a (s. x²; France?), Gneuss 269.1

3. Alcuin, De dialectica

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 206 (s. x¹; England [perhaps Canterbury] rather than N.E. France, prov. England [Canterbury, or St Albans, or Bury St Edmunds?] s. xi/xii), Gneuss 67

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc.Ph.1 (formerly: HJ. IV. 16) (s. x; Brittany [or England?], [prov. Bamberg Cathedral]), Gneuss 784.5

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 2. 24 (1128) (s. xii¹ [pre?1124]; Rochester), Gameson 163

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.6, fols 142–169 (s. xii¹; Durham), Gameson 254 [with Alcuin, *Epistola dedicatoria metrica in De dialectica sua*]

4. Pseudo-Apuleius, Peri hermenias

Incomplete: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 206 (s. x¹; England [perhaps Canterbury] rather than N.E. France, prov. England [Canterbury, or St Albans, or Bury St Edmunds?] s. xi/xii), Gneuss 67

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5. Pseudo-Augustine, De dialectica (Categoriae decem)

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Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.6, fols 142–169 (s. xii¹; Durham), Gameson 254

6. Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii

Book IV: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 206 (s. x¹; England [perhaps Canterbury] rather than N.E. France, prov. England [Canterbury, or St Albans, or Bury St Edmunds?] s. xi/xii), Gneuss 67; Addition to s. x² copy of Book IV (Addition: s. xii¹), Gameson s.n. (p. 61)

Book IV: London, British Library, MS Harley 3826 (s. x/xi; probably Abingdon), Gneuss 438

7. Glosae de Isagogis (from second Commentary by Boethius)

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 206 (s. x¹; England [perhaps Canterbury] rather than N.E. France, prov. England [Canterbury, or St Albans, or Bury St Edmunds?] s. xi/xii), Gneuss 67

8. Porphyrius (Boethius), Isagoge

Fragment: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS C. 219 (4) [with Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. Q.2, fol. 60] (s. ix ex.; Wales, or S.W. England? [prov. Fleury?], Gneuss 795

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9. Isidore, Etymologiae

II.xxix-xxxi: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Ph. 1 (formerly: HJ. IV. 16) (s. x; Brittany [or England?], [prov. Bamberg Cathedral]), Gneuss 784.5

10. Aristoteles (Boethius), De interpretatione

Fragment: Lichfield, Cathedral Library, MS 1a (s. x²; France?), Gneuss 269.1

11. Boethius, In Categorias Aristotelis

Fragment: Lichfield, Cathedral Library, MS 1a (s. x²; France?), Gneuss 269.1

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13. Anselm of Canterbury, De grammatico

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TEACHING CLASSICAL RHETORIC IN PRACTICE: EVIDENCE FROM ANSELM DE BESATE

Beth S. Bennett

In his European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, Ernst Robert Curtius describes a reciprocal relationship between literature and education. He asserts that traditionally in Europe, 'literature has been a school subject, and the continuity of European literature is bound up with the schools. Education becomes the medium of the literary tradition'. In the Middle Ages, both pagan and Christian writers, ancient and medieval, were included for study, and by virtue of their inclusion in the curriculum, Curtius notes, all were considered authorities, auctores. As such, these auctores became not only common 'sources of technical information', but also the shared 'treasury of worldly wisdom and general philosophy.'3

In an essay on rhetorical theory and the rise and decline of *dictamen*, John O. Ward discusses how the acceptance of this educational tradition was challenged in the eleventh century, when what he describes as 'a veritable communications maelstrom [...] on many fronts' prompted an increased interest in the human-

¹ Curtius, European Literature, trans. by Trask, p. 36.

² For Curtius's discussion of these curriculum *auctores*, see Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. by Trask, pp. 48–54. As Curtius reports (pp. 49–50), the list of these *auctores* dated from the end of the twelfth century, published by Charles Homer Haskins and attributed to Alexander Neckham, is quite similar to the grammatical, dialectical, and literary sources used by Anselm in the *Rhetorimachia* (see the table, pp. 69–71).

³ Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. by Trask, p. 58. See his discussion on how this shared literary education functioned rhetorically to enable medieval audiences to remember passages and use them as *sententiae*.

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ist literary tradition and classical rhetorical theory.⁴ Ward explains how the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, regarded in the Italian schools as a technical authority for those wanting training in *dictamen* and epistolography, became an important text in this changing educational milieu.⁵ According to Ward:

The class that responded to the call for more instruction in CRTh [classical rhetorical theory] was on the whole the notarial class [...]. How far the early lecturers on *Ad Herennium* had aristocrats and wealthy merchants or guildsmen seeking instruction in the art of debate in their classes, and how far aspiring provincial and local notaries or youth expecting a dictaminal or notarial career, cannot be known.⁶

We do know that in the mid-eleventh century, an Italian cleric known as Anselm de Besate, using the *Ad Herennium* in conjunction with Cicero's *De inventione* as his primary sources for classical rhetorical theory, composed a three-book treatise called the *Rhetorimachia*, a fictional *controversia* with his cousin Rotiland. Anselm claimed that although others had dismissed the rhetorical art as 'an arduous difficulty', after studying the traditional 'volumes of the rhetoricians' himself and following the teachings of the rhetorician Sichelm in Reggio nell'Emilia, he had found the art to be both 'plain and easy'. With the *Rhetorimachia*, Anselm aimed to furnish a written example of 'the very great usefulness' of rhetoric as he

- ⁴ Ward, 'Rhetorical Theory', p. 186. See also Curtius's discussion where he attributes the change to 'the triumphant progress of dialectics' and to 'the revolt of youth against the traditional school curriculum' (Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. by Trask, p. 53).
 - ⁵ Ward, 'Rhetorical Theory', p. 190.
 - ⁶ Ward, 'Rhetorical Theory', p. 195.
- ⁷ For a discussion of the significance of this treatise, see Bennett, 'The Significance of the *Rhetorimachia* of Anselm de Besate'.
- ⁸ Here I am referring to a letter Anselm wrote to his teacher Drogo, the philosopher, which accompanies the *Rhetorimachia* in the manuscript tradition. A published translation of this letter can be found in Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', pp. 9–12. For the specific text referenced here, refer to 102.1–16 (p. 10): 'rethoricorum ut moris est volumina vellem attingere, occurrerunt mihi qui his multociens evolutis ipsius artis minimam utilitatem sed et maximam predicarent difficultatem. Quorum quidem satis et supra culpanda videtur insania, qui sua ceteros librando segnicię humani generis decorum lumen, artem rethoricam, vellent delere. Itaque tunc temporis apud Regium civitatem magistrum meum domnum Sichelmum, vestrum discipulum liberalibus disciplinis a vobis studiosissime eruditum adii. Quem vero, quia in hac arte sicut et in ceteris clarissime prepollebat, rogavi, quatenus eam michi traderet. Quo petitioni meę libentissime favente, suo dogmate, meo etiam studio huius artis pernimiam utilitatem et planam cognovi ac facilem, quam prelibati viri preconabantur arduam difficultatem.' For the full Latin text of the letter, see *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, pp. 101–06.

had learned it, by providing marginal commentary identifying the Ciceronian precepts being illustrated. As such, his treatise provides evidence of what rhetorical sources were being read and how classical rhetoric was being taught and practised at this time, at least in northern Italy.

For purposes of this discussion, I rely upon Anselm's treatise, along with two of his letters that accompany the work in the manuscript tradition, to discuss briefly the nature and content of his rhetorical training, along with the types of authoritative sources that his work suggests were relevant to rhetorical training. Then, from the evidence Anselm supplies and the specific subject matter developed in his *controversia*, I consider how an ambitious young cleric in the middle of the eleventh century could have viewed his classical rhetorical training as applying to the world he faced.

The Nature and Content of Rhetorical Training

Northern Italy in the eleventh century was under the secular rule of the Salian ruler Heinrich III, in Basel, and the ecclesiastical rule of the Pope, in Rome. Since the tenth century, this alliance with Rome had provided the German emperors authority over their feudal princes while assuring military support to the papacy. But by the middle of the eleventh century, this political arrangement had begun to change. The Church faced growing dissent from reform movements that condemned such church practices as simony and allowing marriage among clerics. One of these movements, the *Pataria*, arose among the suburban clergy in Milan.

It was into this political climate that a young cleric of noble origins, with family connections to the clergy in Milan, emerged. Calling himself 'Anselmus Peripateticus', he identified his philosophical training as Aristotelian and the nature of that training as itinerant.¹¹ As Karl Manitius notes, Anselm de Besate

⁹ Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', 102.13–14 (p. 10).

¹⁰ The most recent edition of Anselm's works is that published by Manitius in *Gunzo* 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius. An earlier edition was published by Dümmler, Anselm der Peripatetiker.

¹¹ Anselm uses this title in the headings for letters to Heinrich III and Drogo, as well as in the headings for the *Rhetorimachia*. Manitius discusses the title in his introduction on Anselm's life (*Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 66). The title should not lead us to believe that Anselm actually had access to Aristotle's work. Based on the texts he uses in the *Rhetorimachia*, it would appear that Anselm's knowledge of Aristotelian doctrine came from Boethius. In using the title, Anselm identified himself with the scholasticism of his day, that is, regarding syllogistic logic as the instrument of thought for

came from a teaching tradition that urged him to travel: 'The wandering life, the thirst for knowledge, and the desire for glory of the Italian humanists of the eleventh century recall the life-style and character of the ancient rhetors and sophists.'¹²

In his letter to Emperor Heinrich III, Anselm says that as a 'lover of wisdom' he sought out the doctrine of learned men in whom he 'saw no rashness'. He specifically credits his educational training in Parma to a philosopher, 'the flower and splendour of Italy [...] the inestimable Drogo', then to a most eloquent Aldeprand, and in Reggio, to a rhetorician named Sichelm who was 'most skilful in the liberal arts'. Anselm claims Sichelm was regarded as a Cicero 'above all others in his rhetorical skill' and as a Justinian 'above all others in his imperial edicts and legal judgments'. Indeed, Anselm explains, 'that man teaches people, as they say he himself was taught'.

It was probably Anselm's rhetorical training and knowledge of Roman law that won him the notarial position of chaplain in Emperor Heinrich's court. We know he wrote the *Rhetorimachia* to showcase his rhetorical skills and to endorse his qualifications for that position in the royal chancellery, as well as to satisfy his detractors. ¹⁸ Of his ability and rhetorical training, Anselm remarks to the emperor:

judging secular knowledge, as well as characterizing the wandering travels by which he had gained his education.

- ¹² Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 66; all translations in this chapter are my own. Manitius reports that 'a restless, wandering teacher [...] must not have been unusual in Italy at that time' and claims that Peter Damian, 'the ascetic opponent of scholarship', mentions such teachers (p. 66). See also Endres, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Früscholastik', p. 86.
- ¹³ Anselm, 'EPISTOLA ANSELMI PERYPATHETICI AD IMPERATOREM HEINRICUM': 'Talium enim doctorum mihi fuit doctrina, quia nulla mihi videtur temeritas in illorum disciplina', *Gunzo Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 99, ll. 9–11; 'amator tamen sapientię', p. 99, l. 9.
- ¹⁴ According to Manitius, we really do not know anything about this person; see his discussion, *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 65.
- ¹⁵ Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 99, ll. 11–14: 'tum quidem DROCO phylosophus, flos et Italie decus, tum ALDEPRANDUS ipse facundissimus, tum SICHELMUS liberalium atrium peritissimus.'
- ¹⁶ Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 99, ll. 14–16: 'Quem ut pre omnibus in suis rethoricis noster habet Tullius, sic Iustinianus pre omnibus in imperialibus suis edictis et legalibus iudiciis.'
- ¹⁷ Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 99, ll. 19–20: 'docet gentes iste, factus ut aiunt ipse.'
 - ¹⁸ See Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', p. 2.

Although Italy has impelled such an insignificant one of its own to carry out this task, do not let Germany refuse it or speak of it harshly but rather delight in these small fruits of Italy. Rhetoric will not be silent, when consulted, about the fact that its studies ought to be delighted in, nor will Grammar itself, nor Dual Logic [dialectic]. In fact, we have acquired clear discourse from grammarians, subtlety from logicians, and from rhetoricians, the ability to supply material. ¹⁹

As Anselm explains in his letter to Drogo, he demonstrates this 'ability to supply material' in the *Rhetorimachia*, a work he devised rhetorically 'by means of verisimilitude rather than by truth, since rhetorical ability does not demonstrate truth,'20 and in which he invented arguments based on the *status* system of the *Ad Herennium*.²¹

In Book 1 of the *Rhetorimachia*, to his adversary Rotiland, Anselm clarifies what he means by training in rhetoric:

When you stated that I do not know what a rhetorician is, because I called myself a Ciceronian rhetorician rather than an orator, I understood how very stupid and how devoid of our art you are.²²

Anselm explains that a rhetorician is 'anyone who imparts literature and the arts of eloquence'. Such a person differs from an orator, he argues, and he reports authoritatively that the duty of an orator is 'to speak appropriately for the purpose of persuading'. For Anselm, rhetoric is the art of eloquence taught and written about by rhetoricians and practised by orators. Because Anselm's own

- ¹⁹ Anselm, 'EPISTOLA AD HEINRICUM': 'Non retractet nec barbarizet Alemannia, quod tam suum minimum ad hoc impulit Italia, gaudeat potius parvi Itali fructus. Gaudenda cuius studia consulta non tacebit rethorica, non ipsa grammatica nec dualis loica. Grammaticis enim luculentam orationem, loicis subtilitatem, retthoricis subditam paravimus facultatem.' *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 100, ll. 7–12.
- ²⁰ Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', 103.6–8 (pp. 10–11): 'verisimilitudine quam veritate detexi, quia non potius veritatem probat facultas rethorica, sed verisimilitudinem.'
 - ²¹ See Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', pp. 7–8.
- ²² Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*: 'Qui cum, quid esset rethor, me ignorare dixisti, quod me rethorem Ciceronis pocius quam orat<or>em vocavi, quam stultissimus sis et quam nostrę artis expers, intellexi.' *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 119, ll. 13–16.
- ²³ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*: 'qui litteras et artes eloquenciae tribuit'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 120, l. 1.
- ²⁴ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*: 'dicere apposite ad persuadendum'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 134, l. 15–p. 135, l. 1. See also Cicero, *De inventione*, I.5.6: 'dicere apposite ad persuasionem'.

efforts are to produce literature from which others may learn, not oral exercises that are easily forgotten, as he argues clearly in his letter to Drogo, he concludes, 'I ought to be called a rhetorician rather than an orator.' ²⁵

To his teacher Drogo, Anselm explains how his newly acquired rhetorical knowledge has been advanced by his work: 'To be sure, this knowledge is extended by way of instruction, with an intervening oration, that is, or with a piece of scholarship, or else it establishes a craft of something, or from the art often indeed, it draws an example.'26 In creating the *Rhetorimachia*, he claims, he sought to demonstrate how 'the mind might learn by inventing, want to teach what would be written, and retain what was written'.²⁷ He tells Drogo that he chose to compose his work as a hermit, in seclusion, which he alleges caused some to question his motives. As he reports:

There, while I gave my attention to this work, I lived with wild animals rather than with human beings, whence in accordance with certain popular simpleness, I ought to have been branded almost with the stain of heresy. In fact, when the human inhabitants of this place, ignorant of such labour prior to my time observed my solitary life (during the time in which they did not recognize me as a hermit), they muttered that I was demoniac.²⁸

To secure professional approval, Anselm asks Drogo to critique his work:

Oh supreme teacher in want of no knowledge, I have elected you alone as a judge for this work; I have appointed you that task, defender: step forth [as my] advocate. If anything is mistaken, correct it; work over obscure expression; add what is omitted by ignorance or negligence; confirm my position diligently with your vehement corroboration.²⁹

²⁵ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*: 'Rethorem igitur quam oratorem debui'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 119, l. 19.

²⁶ Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', 101.12–16 (p. 10): 'Doctrine vero intendit, cum interveniente oracione vel litteris aut alicuius rei artificium instituit aut ex arte sepe quidem exemplum elicit.'

²⁷ Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', 102.18–20 (p. 10): 'ut et disceret animus inveniendo et scriptura docere vellet et scripta retineret'.

²⁸ Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', 104.8–14 (p. 11): 'Ubi dum operi huic studui, cum feris quam cum hominibus degui. Unde quadam populari simplicitate heresis ferme macula debui notari. Illius enim homines loci, ante meum tempus huiusmodi inscii negocii, meam solitariam cum perceperunt vitam, dum norunt non heremiticam, murmurarunt demoniacam.'

²⁹ Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', 106.1–6 (p. 12): 'ó summe doctor nullius scientie indigens, te solum iudicem huic operi elegi, tibi illud devovi, tu defenser, tu

The result of his effort has survived in two manuscripts: one, eleventh-century and Italian, now in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 7761, fols 1^r–37^r); and the other, twelfth-century and German, now in Bernkastel-Kues (Bernkastel-Kues, St Nikolaus-Hospital, MS 52, from St Eucharius-Matthias in Trier, fols 326^{ra}–330^{ra}).³⁰

Classical Sources Relevant to Rhetorical Training

As a professional showpiece, the *Rhetorimachia* displays the creative talents of a young scholar who borrowed freely from various authorities. Anselm reports to Drogo the rhetorical authors to whom he is indebted, but he does not name the many others whose words or thoughts appear throughout his treatise. Thus Anselm appears concerned with validating his work as traditional Ciceronian rhetoric, not with identifying literary or ecclesiastical authorities with which his audience may have already been familiar.³¹

Scholars who have examined the text of the *Rhetorimachia* have commented on Anselm's use of unattributed sources.³² Joseph Anton Endres posits that this feature of the *Rhetorimachia* suggests it might have been a type of final examination, completed under Drogo's supervision,³³ a hypothesis that finds support from others who see the work as awkward or amateurish.³⁴ Both Ernst Dümmler

existe assertor. Si quid aberratum est, corrige; obscure dictum elugubra; inscitia vel neglegentia pretermissum adiunge; diligenter positum tua confirma asseveracione.'

- ³⁰ For more information on the manuscripts, see *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, pp. 86–90 ('Handschriften und Drucke'); and Dümmler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, pp. 1–4. The Paris manuscript exists in two volumes, the first of which contains the text of the *Rhetorimachia* and two letters to Drogo. The second contains a letter 'To Drogo and Fellow Pupils About a Logical Debate Held in Gaul', which reports on the reception of Anselm's work (presumably the *Rhetorimachia*) during his visit to Gaul, Burgundy, Saxony, and barbarous 'Franconia'. The Bernkastel-Kues manuscript contains the text of the *Rhetorimachia*, the two Drogonian letters, a letter to Heinrich III of Germany, and a prologue-poem of twenty-two hexameters.
- ³¹ Compare his sources with the school curricular list in Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. by Trask, p. 49.
- ³² In his section dealing with Anselm's works, Manitius reports that Anselm knew 'the writers of the Roman literature who were read in the schools and helped to give their imprint to the literary training of his time', but used citations or phrases from them 'without naming them' (*Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 81).
 - ³³ Endres, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Früscholastik', pp. 90–91.
 - ³⁴ See, for example, Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, II (1894), 3;

and Karl Manitius identify these unnamed sources in their published editions of the text, and the Manitius edition includes an author-ordered index. However, apart from this process of identification, not much attention has been paid to how Anselm uses these different classical sources in his treatise.

In revising and expanding the Manitius index, I made a preliminary analysis of Anselm's sources, sorting those he uses in the *Rhetorimachia* into six categories: rhetorical, grammatical, dialectical, literary, scriptural, or legal.³⁵ Rhetorically, Anselm's use of classical sources tends to function in three ways: *stylistically*, either by word choice or by phrasing; *substantively*, through paraphrases and allusions; or *referentially*, with quotations and marginalia. Thus, after sorting them into categories, I classified each citation by the type of rhetorical function it serves in the treatise. The results of this classification are summarized in the table on the following pages.

This table reveals that, not unexpectedly, the most frequently used type of source is **rhetorical**, with 390 different references, the majority of which come from either the *Ad Herennium* or Cicero's *De inventione*. Anselm typically uses these sources in his marginalia. Not all of his marginal notes come from rhetorical sources; some are purely descriptive, and a few are from legal sources. Often, he takes a passage *verbatim* from a source, breaks it up into short phrases, and places each phrase next to the part of his text to which it refers. He also relies upon these sources for technical terms which are used directly in the text or to which the text alludes, as well as for stylistic purposes.

In comparison, the other types of sources are used infrequently. For example, the next most common category of source material, **scriptural**, contains only eighty-two references. So, although Anselm used a wide variety of unattributed sources in composing the *Rhetorimachia*, he seems to have recognized that such material functioned rhetorically for his audience in different ways. Scriptural material is his favourite source for allusions; the treatise is filled with brief, recognizable citations from scriptural passages, although most of these are not identified explicitly by Anselm. Identifiable words or phrases are frequently borrowed from classical **literary** sources, including such authors as Horace, Ovid, Virgil, and Juvenal, for stylistic embellishment. Anselm seems to have considered such *auctores* useful for artistic presentation and, perhaps because they were school standards and eas-

Geyer, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, p. 185; and de Ghellinck, *Littérature latine au Moyen Âge*, pp. 68–69.

³⁵ My analysis of Anselm's use of his sources into these categories is provided in the table, pp. 69–71. The discussion that follows considers how frequently and in what manner the categories are used in the *Rhetorimachia*.

Sources Used in the Rhetorimachia								NICAL TERMS								NICAL TERMS								NICAL TERMS
Specific Sources by Type and Functions	Bk 1	TOTAL	MARGINAL NOTES	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	PHRASING OR STYLE	PARAPHRASES	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS	Bk 2	TOTAL	MARGINAL NOTES	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	PHRASING OR STYLE	PARAPHRASES	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS	Bk3	TOTAL	MARGINAL NOTES	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	PHRASING OR STYLE	PARAPHRASES	
RHETORICAL	170		92	0	9	7	1	61	91		78	0	0	13	0	0	129		99	0	0	20	0	10
De Inventione		92	47		4	5		36		42	31			11				38	30			5		3
Bk 1		79	46		3	5		25		25	21			4				32	28			4		2
Bk 2		13	1		1			11		17	10			7				4	2			1		1
Ad Herennium		59	39		4	1		15		49	47			2				85	67			11		7
Bk 1		31	20					11		7	6			1				27	21			3		3
Bk 2		12	8		2			2		29	29							39	33			5		1
Bk 3		5	4		1					4	4							12	11					1
Bk 4		11	7		1	1		2		9	8			1				7	2			3		2
Victorinus		9	3				1	5										2	1			1		
Grillius		2						2																
Cassiodorus		1						1																
Cicero, Orator		1	1																					
Philippic II																		1				1		
Philippic XIII		1				1																		
Inv. in L. Catilinam																		1				1		
De oratore		4	2		1			1																
Bk 1		1			1																			
Bk 3		3	2					1																
Quintilian, Bk 2		1						1										2	1			1		
GRAMMATICAL	9		0	2	0	0	2	5	1		0	0	0	1	0	0	0							
Priscian		3		2			1			1				1										
Servius		1					1																	
Clemens		1						1																
Diomedes		1						1																
Charisius		1						1																
Maximus		1						1																
Audax		1						1																
DIALECTICAL	11		0	0	0	3	4	4	18		0	0	0	9	2	7	8		0	0	2	0	2	4
Boethius		7				3	4			17				8	2	7		8			2		2	4
De consolatione										1				1				2						2
In cat. Aristotelis		2				1	1			1				1										
Arist. <u>Peri hermeneias</u>		2					2			7					2	5		4					2	2
In isagogen Porphyrii		2				2				4				2		2		2			2			
Com. in top. Ciceronis		1					1			2				2										
De differentiis topicis										2				2										

Sources Used in the Rhetorimachia Specific Sources by Type and Functions	Bk 1	TOTAL	MARGINAL NOTES	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	PHRASING OR STYLE	PARAPHRASES	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS	Bk 2	TOTAL	MARGINAL NOTES	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	PHRASING OR STYLE	PARAPHRASES	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS	Bk 3	TOTAL	MARGINALNOTES	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	PHRASING OR STYLE	PARAPHRASES	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS
Cicero, Topica										1				1										П
Isidore		3						3																
Martianus Capella		1						1																
LITERARY	18		0	3	7	5	1	2	21		0	0	6	14	0	1	5		0	0	1	3	0	1
Avianus		2				1		1																
Cicero, De officiis										1			1											
Claudianus										1			1					1				1		
Commodianus										1			1											Ш
Homer Latinus																		1			1			
Horace, carmen saeculare										1				1										Ш
Epistulae																		1				1		Ш
Epodi										1						1								Ш
Sermones		3		2	1																			Ш
Juvenal		4			3	1																		Ш
Lucanus										2				2										Ш
Maximianus		2		1				1										1						1
Ovid, Amores		1				1																		Ш
Epistulae																		1				1		Ш
Fasti		2				2																		Ш
Metamorphoses										2				2										Ш
Pliny		2			2																			Ш
Prudentius, Cathemerina										1				1										Ш
Sallust		1			1																			Ш
Sedulius, Carmen paschale		1					1																	Ш
Statius, silvae										1				1										Ш
Sulpicius Severus										2				2										Ш
Valerius Flaccus										1				1										Щ
Virgil, Aeneid										7			3	4										Ш
SCRIPTURAL	39		0	8	4	3	1	23	26		0	1	0	5	0	20	17		0	3	0	2	3	9
Vulgate		32		7	1		1	23		26		1		5		20		11		1		1		9
Old Testament		9			1		1	7		10				3		7		3						3
Genesis		2						2		1				1										Ш
Exodus		2						2																Ш
Deuteronomy																		1						1
Ecclesiates										1						1								Ш
II Kings (IV Regum)										1				1										

Sources								MS								MS								MS
Used in the								TER								TER								TE
Rhetorimachia								ICAL								ICAI								ICAL
Kneiorimachia			~			TE		CEN			~			TE		CHIN			S			TE		
			MARGINAL NOTES	S	Œ	PHRASING OR STYLE	2	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS			MARGINAL NOTES	S	Œ	PHRASING OR STYLE	S	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS			MARGINAL NOTES	S	Œ	PHRASING OR STYLE	S	ALLUSIONS OR TECHNICAL TERMS
			ALN	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	0.51	PARAPHRASES	NS C			ALN	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	Q DN	PARAPHRASES)NS (IALN	QUOTATIONS	WORD CHOICE	0.5	PARAPHRASES	NS (
Specific Sources by	_	TOTAL	RGIN	OTAI	300	SASI	APH	USIC	2	TOTAL	RGIN	OTAI	8	SASI	APH	USIC	3	TOTAL	RGIN	OTAI	B C	SASI	APH	USIC
Type and Functions	Bk 1	_	MA	9	<u></u>	H	PAF	_	Bk 2	_	MA	3	8	PHI	PAF		Bk3	T0,	MA	0)	0/	H	PAF	
Psalms		5			1		1	3		3						3		1						1
Isaiah										3				1		2		1						1
Amos										1						1								
New Testament		23		7				16		14		1		1		12		6		1				5
Matthew		4		3				1		5		1				4		2		1				1
Mark		2						2		2						2								
Luke		3						3		2				1		1		1						1
John		2		2														1						1
Acts		7		2				5		1						1		1						1
I Corinthians		2						2																
Romans										1						1		1						1
Galatians		2						2		1						1								
Hebrews		1						1																
II Timothy										1						1								
I Peter										1						1								
Apocrypha										2				1		1		2				1		1
Tobit										1						1		1						1
Ecclesiasticus										1				1				1				1		Ш
Secondary Sources		7		1	3	3												6		2		1	3	
Augustine		2				2																		
Narr. on the Psalms		1				1																		
sermones		1				1																		
Benedictions																		3					3	
Breviarium Romanium																		1		1				
Cassianius		2					2																	
Chromatius		1				1																		
Gregorius M.		2		1		1																		
epistulae		1				1																		
Hom. In Evangelia		1		1																				Ш
Missale Romanum																		1		1				
Paulus Diaconus, epist.																		1				1		
LEGAL	1							1	0								4		4					
Concilium Aurelianense		1						1																
Corpus iuris, Novellae																		2	2					
Julianus, Epit ome novell.																		2	2					П

ily recognizable, useful for demonstrating his erudition. His limited use of **grammatical** and **legal** sources, as they pertained substantively to a few specific arguments, suggests that he regarded them as authorities applicable to the particular case, not as sources relevant to rhetorical invention in general. **Dialectical** material, although used more frequently, is also introduced only when pertinent to the argument. Anselm identified himself as a philosopher of the Drogonian sect, and his brief lapses into syllogistic logic show that he enjoyed scholastic argument. But his use of dialectical authorities in the *Rhetorimachia* is quite limited, revealing that he considered the work a rhetorical, not dialectical, performance.³⁶

What does seem to be fundamental to the invention of his treatise is his use of sources to argue by authority. The *Rhetorimachia* is in large part a compilation of extended arguments, and consequently Anselm selects and develops arguments based on appeals to authoritative texts. For example, in Book I, his case against Rotiland's claim to have provided a proper rhetorical introduction revolves around Anselm's position that, due to its ambiguity, Rotiland's salutation — 'To Anselm, abiding with men apart from man' — does not conform to Ciceronian criteria for a proper introduction.³⁷ Thus, regardless of its meaning, Anselm insists, Rotiland could not have constructed a Ciceronian introduction. In addition to Ciceronian doctrine, he often bases his appeals to authority on the scriptures. In Book III, he reminds Rotiland that he must be a servant of the Devil because the scriptures say we serve him whose works we do.³⁸

A comparison of the number of source citations in the *Rhetorimachia* underscores the importance Anselm placed upon his classical rhetorical sources in the invention of his treatise, as they outnumber the next most common source by more than four to one.³⁹ Furthermore, his use of rhetorical precepts in the margi-

³⁶ See the table, pp. 69–71. Anselm's primary dialectical source is Boethius, but he has a few references from Isidore and Martianus Capella in Book 1, and from Cicero's *Topica* in Book 11.

³⁷ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'ANSELMO cum hominibus preter hominem commoranti'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia*', ed. by Manitius, p. 110, ll. 9–10. Here, in illustrating the precept of confirmation of circumstance, Anselm argues that Rotiland has violated the oratorical principle of avoiding ambiguity. In particular, Anselm focuses on the phrase 'abide with men, apart from men', which he concludes must mean that Rotiland is allowing him to be exalted to the saints themselves ('qui inter mun|danas huius sęculi infirmitates me cum hominibus commorantem ut dixistis preter homines, hoc est ad sanctos suos extulit', *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 111, ll. 7–9).

³⁸ Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 174, ll. 2–3: 'In scripturis enim legimus: cuius opera facimus, illius et servi sumus.'

³⁹ See the table, pp. 69–71. Of all of the identifiable references in the *Rhetorimachia*, 390 are rhetorical, 10 are grammatical, 37 are dialectical, 44 are literary, 82 are scriptural, and 6 are legal.

nalia shows that these sources supplied the theoretical framework for his treatise, while the ancient Roman declamatory tradition supplied the conceptual model. As such, these sources provided his justification for creating his *controversia*, as well as for the kinds of arguments he constructed and the way he arranged them. Nonetheless, the subject of Anselm's *Rhetorimachia* is not classical rhetoric. Rather, he chose to use his rhetorical skill to indict the fictionalized character of his cousin Rotiland, a Christian, for being a magician, a necromancer, 40 and servant of the devil. 41

Rhetorical Application in Eleventh-Century Italy

For purposes of this discussion, let me provide a few samples of this indictment to illustrate its nature. From the beginning, we learn that Rotiland has been charged with moral deceit and being subjected to 'Pluto's detestable rule', ⁴² and has not bothered to refute the charges. Anselm elaborates, saying that Rotiland is servile to the Devil for the sake of Venus, who 'removes all continence from you, so that, when you see some woman, instantly you are scheming after her'. ⁴³ He claims that Rotiland keeps a book of magic spells on how to allure women, ⁴⁴ possesses 'the lung of a venomous toad' with which to poison his mother, ⁴⁵ and has writ-

- ⁴⁰ See Kieckhefer, 'Necromancy in the Clerical Underworld'. According to Kieckhefer, 'the conjuring of demons came to be known as necromancy', that is, demonic magic (p. 152). He describes how many clerics in this age, with time on their hands due to limited employment, would have the opportunity to 'get into trouble'. He claims that some were lured into the art of necromancy by access to 'the wrong kind of books' (pp. 154–55).
- ⁴¹ Edward Peters reports that by the middle of the eleventh century, 'the vast and scattered literature dealing with superstition, magic and witchcraft had been ordered and precisely located in the context of ecclesiastical law'; see Jolly, Raudvere, and Peters, 'The Medieval Church and State on Superstition, Magic and Witchcraft', p. 206.
- ⁴² Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'Plutonis execrabile dominium'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 114, l. 3. Here, of course, Anselm is referring to the devil as Pluto.
- ⁴³ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'Que ita a te omnem removit continenciam, ut, cum videas aliquam, sis illico mechatus illam'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 123, ll. 16–18.
- ⁴⁴ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'ad mulieres eliciendas'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 125, ll. 20–21.
- ⁴⁵ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'Ut pro tanta incommoditate iam cibares matrem ipso pulmone rubetę'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia*', ed. by Manitius, p. 130, ll. 5–7.

ten books to get money for his debt to panderers. ⁴⁶ In a dream, while visiting Elysium, Anselm reports that Rotiland's dead father told him how Rotiland had buried a youth to his waist in a pit and kept vigil all night, while smoke filled the boy's eyes, performing an incantation that would draw women to him. ⁴⁷ When the boy later stole Rotiland's book on necromancy, Rotiland disinterred a corpse and restored it to life, in order to secure the book's return. Anselm claims that instead of refuting any of these charges, Rotiland attempted to hurl them back at him, in particular, a charge of using a mule's hoof to perform abortions. ⁴⁸ In refuting this charge, Anselm uses both a scholastic argument against future beings, using divine predestination, and an argument from probability, namely, what motive would he have for risking his soul with such a sin in order to hide what is permitted to him? Abbots and monks who have weakness of the flesh and are not permitted to marry might wish they could hide such sins, but not he. ⁴⁹

Anselm saves his best evidence for the end, when he reports, among other things, that Rotiland has been consorting with a former Saracen, now a Christian physician, in order to cut off a pair of hands from a corpse. Anselm claims to have witnessed Rotiland using these hands to perform a spell that resulted in the death of an infant. These images and descriptions are what have made the *Rhetorimachia* seem outrageous to such modern readers as Edward Peters, who proclaims the work to be 'one of the true monstrosities of medieval literature'.⁵⁰

So, what was Anselm doing when he chose such a case for his rhetorical display? Who was his audience for this work, and how did he think this application of his rhetorical skills would further his career? What pattern of classroom usage did he imagine for his treatise? For his immediate audience, the German court and general public, there is considerable evidence that his effort was a suc-

⁴⁶ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'multos oportet libros scribere; ut inde precium sumeres, quo a tuis lenonibus te demum redimeres'. *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 131, ll. 3–5.

⁴⁷ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'Postea vero multarum petrarum exaggeratione quasi quodam muro circumdedit, tenui fossa tandem percincxit. Nares et oculos acri fumo tota nocte cruciavit. Ubi his sacris verbis tota nocte ad auroras vigilavit.' *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 143, ll. 5–8.

⁴⁸ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, 'Cetera vero tua que michi obicis ut mea: nocturne vigiliae ad patranda stupra, leno lenonumque consortia, cetera reliqua ut et mulae ungula, perambulata et quod adhuc Italia.' *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 153, ll. 1–4.

⁴⁹ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*; for the complete argument, see *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses'* und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 155, l. 2–p. 156, l. 10.

⁵⁰ Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*, p. 21.

cess. Dümmler posits that the work would not have been wasted on the emperor, whose courtly audiences would have required a literary scholar of Anselm's talents and who would have appreciated the secular subject matter.⁵¹ Anselm himself reports favourable reception of the work throughout northern Italy and southern Germany.⁵² As Manitius remarks, 'In court and in the chapel of a king, which took — as did Heinrich III's — a very active interest in scholarship and literature, the literary nature of Anselm's work would very certainly have been in the right place'.⁵³

On the other hand, while delighting the German court and general public, it is unclear how this rhetorical display and Anselm's free, intentionally worldly humanism would have been received by the clergy in Milan. Rather than supporting the conservative forces of church reform, the *Rhetorimachia* would have seemed to extol the culture of the old Roman empire. As Manitius comments:

Not ten years after the written copy of the *Rhetorimachia* [appeared], the revolt of the *Pataria* broke out in Milan, which helped the reform effort to victory in upper Italy. Churches, clergy, and organizations were controlled by a new spirit, and against books of that movement, the *Rhetorimachia* would have presented still only here and there a very isolated interest. It is probably no accident that Anselm's works, which so clearly bring to expression the imperial sentiment of their author (the letter to Heinrich III) and also show certain tendencies hostile to reform (standing up for the marriage of priests), found regard in the second half of the twelfth century, in St Eucharius-Mattias in Trier and were copied there.⁵⁴

As for Anselm himself, after his term in the royal chancellery ended, there is no further record of him.

Nonetheless, Peters asserts in his study on magic in medieval culture that finished literary presentations such as the *Rhetorimachia* strongly influenced the theologians and lawyers of the later medieval period, not because the charges Anselm made against Rotiland were true, but because they were 'strikingly similar to other, later charges made [...] in serious descriptions of magicians, witches, and heretics'. ⁵⁵ In other words, Peters claims, Anselm's work 'tells us a great deal about

⁵¹ Dümmler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, p. 10.

⁵² For the account Anselm provides, see his second letter to Drogo, 'EPISTOLA ANSALMI AD DROCONEM MAGISTRUM ET CONDISCIPULOS DE LOGICA DISPUTATIONE IN GALLIA HABITA', Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, pp. 181–83.

⁵³ Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 72.

 $^{^{54} \}textit{ Gunzo `Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate `Rhetorimachia', ed. by Manitius, p. 83.$

⁵⁵ Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*, pp. 25 and 27.

plausible accusations of magic and witchcraft in the eleventh century' because '[1]ike the charges of lasciviousness, theft, and other less occult crimes, the crime of magic had to be credible in the eyes of eleventh century readers'. For this reason, Peters labels the *Rhetorimachia* 'an important text' since 'it emphasizes the importance of the art of rhetoric as a vehicle for preserving and transmitting those beliefs'. Perhaps this account helps explain the survival of the manuscripts that preserved and transmitted the *Rhetorimachia* and its classical heritage. In any case, Anselm the rhetorician most assuredly would have declared his effort a success.

From the point of view of the overarching theme of this volume, we must acknowledge that Anselm's work was presented publicly and in court as an exhibition of the learning he had acquired in secular or cathedral schools. Nonetheless, the general thrust of Anselm's treatise is didactic, and it presents rhetorical rules and procedures in an intriguing way. Furthermore, as Anselm suggests in his letter to Drogo and confirms in the epilogue of the *Rhetorimachia*, he intended the work to be didactic, aiming to provide a usable and titillating text for the increasingly popular subject of rhetoric in the Roman declamatory tradition of a *controversia*. The two extant manuscripts, one perhaps original and the other a copy preserved in Germany, suggest that the treatise may have enjoyed a brief period of secular use.

We know that this era saw the devising in general of various new modes of teaching rhetoric, such as the tri-columnar *De inventione* gloss of Oxford, Bodl.

⁵⁶ Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*, pp. 27–28.

⁵⁷ Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*, p. 22.

⁵⁸ Peters comments how difficult it is to identify actual practice in a literary work such as Anselm's (Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*, p. 24).

⁵⁹ Anselm, *Rhetorimachia*, '<P>ollicitis quidem tribus in primo nostre cause causarum generibus, in solo iudiciali, quoad facultas tulit, adhuc producti sumus, ut quod de illo precipimur in multis et lacioribus voluminibus a plurimis quidem arcium scriptoribus, in hoc parvo opere subsecuti sumus, ut racionem precepcionis ad excercitationem commodaremus racionis, et que per magna temporum spacia multo sudore, nimia | instancia considerantur tandem tanto labore quesita, animadvertantur hic quidem parva quadam diligencia.' *Gunzo 'Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 177, ll. 4–13.

⁶⁰ As I have argued previously, the treatise seems clearly composed to imitate 'a well-established tradition of educational practice', but has not been recognized as an exhibition declamation, due to the personal rather than public nature of the controversy Anselm created; see Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', p. 9. For Anselm's argument to Drogo on this point, see my translation, Bennett, 'The *Controversia* of Anselm de Besate', p. 10 (*Gunzo Epistola ad Augienses' und Anselm von Besate 'Rhetorimachia'*, ed. by Manitius, p. 102).

Libr., MS Laud lat. 49, or the later streamlined *catena* glosses,⁶¹ dictaminal manuals, and similar texts. The subject was topical, there were burgeoning contemporary opportunities for its employment (not least in pressing arguments persuasively on either side of the so-called Investiture Controversy of the later eleventh century), and there must have been much competition not only from other disciplines such as grammar and dialectic, but also from other masters using, perhaps, different teaching instruments. Anselm may have hoped to advance the cause of the rhetor with his *Rhetorimachia*⁶² in ways and contexts that are not as yet clear. Certainly the wide range of sources cited in the table above suggests a fairly generous schoolroom context. Further research on the contemporary market for rhetoric and the competition among textbooks is overdue.

⁶¹ See Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', p. 20.

⁶² For various interpretations of how the title of the treatise may be translated, see Bennett, 'The Significance of the *Rhetorimachia* of Anselm de Besate', p. 240. My preference is for 'Conflict of the Rhetorician'.

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THIERRY OF CHARTRES AND THE CAUSES OF RHETORIC: FROM THE HEPTATEUCHON TO TEACHING THE ARS RHETORICA

Rita Copeland

In his commentary on the *De inventione* produced during the 1130s, Thierry of Chartres introduces a telling detail into his reading of Cicero's prologue, the mythic account of how rhetoric civilized a barbarous people and first brought an organized polity into being. Cicero describes how 'pre-civilized' savage people initially resisted being assembled according to a reasonable plan: 'they cried out against it at first because of *insolentia*' (*De inventione*, I.2.2). In English, *insolentia* is usually translated as 'novelty': the people resisted the discipline of law and order because this was something new. Thierry has an original take on *insolentia*: '*insolentia* is what he [Tully] calls the *desuetude* of good study.' Thierry's life's work was devoted to defending against the disuse — the desuetude — of good habits of study. As is well known, perhaps his greatest accomplishment, the massive *Heptateuchon*, was a comprehensive archive of primary texts for the study of each of the seven liberal arts, compiled to demonstrate and enact the unity of knowledge.

Whether there actually was a 'desuetude' of studies at Chartres or Paris in Thierry's time might well be debatable. The evidence of the most recent modern scholarship shows that at least from the time of Fulbert (Bishop of Chartres, 1006–28) to the middle of the twelfth century, Chartres was a dynamic crossroads and conduit for the newest teaching of all kinds, especially in the math-

¹ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 62, ll. 11–12: '*Insolentiam* vocat boni studii desuetudinem.' Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

ematical sciences, and a centre for strong cultivation of older curricular classics.2 On the other hand, there is the dossier of twelfth-century complaints about a perceived crisis of learning, among them John of Salisbury's extended reproach to the Cornificians in his *Metalogicon*, remarks by William of Conches and Thierry himself, and the satirical comments in the anonymous poem Metamorphoses Goliae. In different ways these writers decry a retrenchment on the part of students from the full demanding curriculum in the arts in favour of narrower specialist studies and streamlined approaches to the arts.³ More starkly, Hermann of Carinthia condemns a general 'dearth of Latinity' ('inopia Latinitatis') brought about by bitter rivalries which have discouraged most of the few good scholars from continuing their work.⁴ These various testimonies may well point to a situation at Chartres as much as at Paris. In the personal prologues to his De inventione commentary, Thierry declares that he will not pander to the profane mob, criticizes vulgar pretenders to knowledge who seek him out for his reputation but do not actually care about his teaching, and describes how he has been persecuted by Envy, who sends Rumour to the schools to impugn every area of his expertise in the arts.⁵ If Thierry's invective is to be considered more than literary convention (and his language is rooted in the classical satirists Petronius, Persius, and Horace), we would have to assume that his own course of lectures on rhetoric — whether given at Paris or at Chartres or both constituted a defensive bulwark against a rising tide of mediocrity.

Whether the *Heptateuchon* itself was intended to rectify a specific condition of 'desuetude of good studies' is difficult to judge. In his famous prologue to the anthology, there is no hint of the bitterness that Thierry expresses in the prologues to the rhetoric commentary. The prologue to the *Heptateuchon* betrays no sense of loss or imminent loss, and gives no expression to any notions of the inferiority of modern studies. Here at least, there are no lurking Cornificians threatening to overturn or constrain a broad-based curriculum. Thierry's tone is one of grand, confident optimism about what can be achieved:

² See Luscombe, 'L'Évêque Fulbert et les arts libéraux'; Burnett, 'Chartres comme centre de diffusion des mathématiques et de l'astronomie'; Burnett, 'The Contents and Affiliation of the Scientific Manuscripts'; and Châtillon, 'Les Écoles des Chartres et de Saint-Victor'.

³ For the remarks by William of Conches and the passages in the *Metamorphoses Goliae*, see the list of texts in Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione*', p. 222, n. 2.

⁴ Hermann of Carinthia, Preface to his translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphere* and dedication to Thierry of Chartres, edited in Burnett, 'Arabic into Latin in Twelfth-Century Spain', p. 110.

⁵ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 49, 107.

Here begins Thierry's Prologue to the Heptateuchon. Among the Latins, Marcus Varro was the first to assemble a volume of the seven liberal arts, which the Greeks call the 'Heptateuchon', and after him Pliny and then Martianus Capella. But these were their own writings. We, however, have joined together, in orderly measure [modulatio], not our own writings, but rather the discoveries [inventa] of the most important authorities on the arts, in a book forming a single corpus; and we have joined the trivium to the quadrivium, as if in marital union, to propagate a noble race of philosophers. The ancient poets, the Greeks as much as the Romans, witness that Philology was joined to Mercury in a solemn wedding ceremony, by all the power of Hymen leading the way, and the great consent of Apollo and the Muses, and with the ministrations of these seven arts, as if nothing can be accomplished without them. And this was not unmerited. For there are two chief instruments of philosophical work: understanding [intellectus] and its expression in language [interpretatio]. The quadrivium illuminates the understanding, and the trivium enables the elegant, rational, and beautiful expression of understanding. Thus it is clear that the Heptateuchon constitutes a single, unified instrument of all philosophy. Philosophy is the love of wisdom, and wisdom is the integral comprehension of the truth of existing things, which no one can attain even in part unless he has loved wisdom. Thus no one is wise who is not a philosopher.6

Thierry proudly points out the difference between his work and that of the ancient compendia of Varro, Pliny, and Martianus Capella, because his does not consist of his 'own writings' like theirs, but is rather a collection of what we would call 'primary source texts'. In other words, it is not a series of secondary summaries

⁶ 'Incipit prologus Theoderici in *Eptatheucon*. Volumen septem artium liberalium, quod Greci Eptatheucon vocant, Marcus quidem Varro primus apud Latinos disposuit, post quem Plinius, deinde Marcianus. Sed illi sua. Nos autem non nostra sed precipuorum super his artibus inventa doctorum quasi in unum corpus voluminis apta modulatione coaptavimus, et trivium quadruvio ad generose nationis phylosophorum propaginem quasi maritali federe copulavimus. Siquidem Phylologiam Mercurio, tota preeuntis Hymenei virtute magnoque Apollinis et Musarum consensu, epithalamica sollempnitate coniunctam esse tam grai quam romulei vates contestantur, artibus his septem, quasi siue eis res agi non possit, intervenientibus. Nec inmerito. Nam, cum sint duo precipua phylosophandi instrumenta, intellectus eiusque interpretatio, intellectum autem quadruvium illuminet, eius vero interpretationem elegantem, rationabilem, ornatam trivium subministret, manifestum est Eptatheucon totius phylosophye unicum ac singulare esse instrumentum. Phylosophya autem est amor sapientie; sapientia vero est integra comprehensio veritatis eorum que sunt quam nullus vel parum adipiscitur nisi amaverit. Nullus igitur sapiens nisi phylosophus.' Text edited in Jeauneau, 'Note sur l'Ecole de Chartres', p. 854. Translation from Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, pp. 440-41. The Heptateuchon took up two very large codices: Chartres, BM, MS 497 and Chartres, BM, MS 498; the manuscripts were destroyed by Allied bombing in 1944, but had been microfilmed before the war.

and expositions, but a bringing together, 'in orderly measure, [of] the "discoveries" of the most important authorities on the arts' in one collection. Under the rubric of 'discoveries of the authorities', some ancient compendium materials seem to be admissible, presumably because these too are the works of authorities or at least have achieved an exceptional authority over the course of their transmission: included under rhetoric are Martianus Capella's chapter on the art and the summary by Julius Severianus; Martianus's chapter on arithmetic is also included. The stated purpose of the whole work is to have 'joined the trivium and the quadrivium, as if in marital union, to propagate a noble race of philosophers'. Whether the *Heptateuchon* aimed to rectify an existing condition of 'desuetude' or was, rather, a positive proactive endeavour, it stands as a summation of a collective achievement. It assembles foundational works from antiquity in all the disciplines of secular study, including contemporary translations of Euclidian arithmetic and geometry and Ptolemy's astronomical works. In this it is certainly an act of archival conservation to defend against future uncertainties.⁷

The Heptateuchon is an invitation to study, an incorporation of scholars and students into the authentic textual origins or causes of knowledge. In the De inventione commentary, Thierry borrows a gloss from one of his ancient sources, Grillius, to make an admonitory aside. Cicero's description of the 'ignorance' ('inscientia') and error of the first savage men, who allowed unfettered desire to rule their bodies, is turned into an ethical pronouncement about study and self-knowledge: 'This is the difference between error and ignorance: ignorance is truly not to know what you do not know, whereas error is if you believe yourself to know what you do not know.' Perhaps this would resonate with Thierry's own invective against the profane mobs and pretentious poseurs of the schools, although it is also a general moral pronouncement. In either case, the kind of authentic knowledge of primary texts of the arts offered by the Heptateuchon would redress students' ignorance of the textual foundations or causes of the arts, and it would stand as a corrective to any wilful or arrogant error.

In this chapter I set forth two complementary arguments: in the first place, that the *Heptateuchon* is itself a practical expression of a curriculum, a definitive

⁷ The contents of the *Heptateuchon* are described by Evans, 'The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres', and by Clerval, 'L'Enseignement des arts libéraux à Chartres et à Paris'. On the quadrivial contents, see Burnett, 'The Contents and Affiliation of the Scientific Manuscripts'. There is a short account in Lemoine, *Théologie et platonisme au XII' siècle*, pp. 72–75.

⁸ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 61, ll. 85–87: 'Inter errorem et inscientiam hoc interest, quod inscientia est nescire quod vere nescias, error vero est si putas te scire quod nescis.' See also Grillius, *Commentum in Ciceronis Rhetorica*, ed. by Jakobi, p. 19, ll. 89–96.

contribution to a source of study, and therefore can be seen as a 'relict' of classical teaching in the twelfth century, even if on a grander scale than glosses or schoolbooks; and in the second place, that the underpinnings of the course of study represented by the *Heptateuchon* are one with the philosophical imperative that guided Thierry's other scientific investigations, the searching out of causes. The practical or worldly applications of this philosophical, scientific outlook are manifest in the record of Thierry's teaching of rhetoric, his commentary on the Ciceronian rhetorical texts. In the commentary on the *De inventione*, his inclination to understand knowledge in terms of its 'causes' is conscripted into the service of a practical teaching programme; the *Heptateuchon*, in turn, may be seen as the fullest, most ambitious elaboration of that pedagogical integrity.

In the broadest sense, the study into which Thierry invites his students would aim not just for knowledge of scientific doctrine, but knowledge of causes. It was largely for this model of study, the investigation into causes, that his disciples and contemporaries remembered Thierry. The epitaph written for him remembers how he recounted 'the first causes of things from the beginning', so that 'at the highest axis he saw the whole picture at once'.9 His disciple Hermann of Carinthia regards Thierry, whom he calls 'most esteemed teacher' ('diligentissime preceptor'), as the most appropriate dedicatee of a translation of Ptolemy's Planisphere, which is the 'deepest root and beginning of all fields of human science' ('omnium humanitatis studiorum summa radix et principium'). 10 Thierry's student Clarembald of Arras thought fit to send to a royal patroness a copy of Thierry's Tractatus de sex dierum operibus, 'in which the whole of philosophy is contained, as should be readily apparent, since he — in as much as he is the most distinguished of philosophers in all of Europe — thoroughly elucidates, on the terms of physics as well as logical reasoning, how exemplary form working through matter produced everything'; to this Clarembald appended his own shorter Tractatulus on the same subject. 11 For Thierry, true knowledge is knowledge of causes. 12 Causality — the search for an understanding of originary causes

⁹ Vernet, 'Une Épitaphe de Thierry de Chartres', p. 669, ll. 7–8; reprinted in Vernet, *Études médiévales*, pp. 160–70: 'Hic repetens rerum primas ab origine causas | In summo vidit cardine cuncta simul'.

¹⁰ Burnett, 'Arabic into Latin in Twelfth-Century Spain', p. 110. This dedication is re-edited in Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, ed. by Burnett, pp. 347–49.

¹¹ Häring, 'The Creation and Creator of the World', p. 183: 'In quo quantum philosophiae contineatur, liquido apparet, cum ipse — utpote totius Europae philosophorum praecipuus — qualiter exemplaris forma in materia operans cuncta produxerit, juxta physicas tantum rationes edoceat'.

¹² Rodrigues, 'La Conception de la philosophie chez Thierry de Chartres', p. 132.

— is the fundamental principle that unifies his scientific and sacred writings: his *Tractatus* on the six days of creation and the commentaries on Boethius's *De trinitate*. In this, Thierry's thought is exemplary of the Platonist current in twelfth-century science and philosophy.¹³

Insofar as the *Heptateuchon* is an exercise in epistemology, it too should be oriented towards an understanding of causes — the causes of knowledge. This would begin with an understanding of how the sciences should be classified and given their place in a hierarchy of knowledge about things that are true so as to establish their underlying unity. In Thierry's sacred and scientific commentaries, his classification of knowledge follows the Platonic-Stoic model transmitted by Boethius in which the study of philosophy is divided threefold: logic, which concerns reasoning; ethics, which concerns action; and speculative science, which concerns the causes of things. Speculative science consists of physics, mathematics, and theology. 14 In his *Tractatus* and other texts, Thierry describes the ascending movement of speculative science from physics or natural science, which considers forms, to mathematics and theology, through which true forms can be apprehended.¹⁵ In the *Tractatus*, Thierry summons the mathematical sciences of the quadrivium to 'unfold the mysteries of the Trinity' (to borrow Nikolaus Häring's phrase):16 these are the 'forms of reasoning' that 'lead man to cognition of the Creator'. Similarly, in the prologue to the *Heptateuchon*, Thierry lays out the relationships of fields of study to knowledge of the truth by placing the quadrivium over the trivium: in his famous formulation, the two instruments of philosophy are intellectus (understanding), which is illuminated by the disciplines of

 $^{^{13}\,}$ See especially Speer, 'The Discovery of Nature'.

¹⁴ See the *Commentum super Boethii librum 'De Trinitate*', ed. by Häring, p. 70: 'Hoc autem studium triplex est. Aut enim circa rationes uersatur et uocatur logica aut circa actiones et uocatur ethica aut circa causas rerum et dicitur speculatiua. Hec [i.e. speculativa] quoque triplex est. Aut enim illam ueram contemplatur formam que est diuinitas et nominatur theologia [...] aut formas intuetur que sunt circa corpora sed illas a materia abstrahit et tunc uocatur mathematica quasi doctrinalis scientia [...] aut formas in corporibus considerat et nominatur phisica i.e. naturalis scientia. *Phisis* namque natura interpretatur. Et hoc quidem loco natura dicitur forma in materia que si extra materiam consideretur non natura sed notio nuncupatur.'

¹⁵ For summaries and analysis of Thierry's statements, see Rodrigues, 'La Conception de la philosophie chez Thierry de Chartres', pp. 127–28.

¹⁶ Häring, 'The Creation and Creator of the World', p. 157.

¹⁷ Tractatus de sex dierum operibus, in Commentum super Boethii librum 'De Trinitate', ed. by Häring, pp. 553–75, §30 (p. 568): 'Adsint igitur quatuor genera rationum que ducunt hominem ad cognitionem creatoris: scilicet arimethice probationes et musice et geometrice et astronomice.'

the quadrivium, and *interpretatio* (expression in language), which is served by the arts of the trivium. 'Thus it is clear', he says, 'that the Heptateuchon constitutes a single, unified instrument of philosophy'.

If we view this scheme of knowledge in terms of Thierry's intellectual outlook as a whole, we can also understand something about the epistemological purpose of the Heptateuchon. Having primary source texts, especially of the quadrivial sciences, would allow for the most profound apprehension of knowledge and for the true intellectual ascent that is promised by the unity of the sciences. Assembling all the texts in one place will permit cross-referencing and comparison among them. To bring together authoritative works long known and studied, representing the whole range of the sciences, as well as ancient quadrivial writings newly made available in Latin translations, is the truest form of scholarly and pedagogical innovation. The very ambition of this vast enterprise goes well beyond anything that had been known or done, both in terms of intellectual scope and material realization (for example, incorporating all of Priscian's Institutiones grammaticae, a work that had long been considered too voluminous to be a useful reference for many medieval libraries). Indeed, when we consider that Cassiodorus's Institutiones had been a popular resource on the secular arts, especially for monastic libraries, because its brevity made it easy and cheap to copy, we can appreciate the logistical boldness of Thierry's project. As a textual project that realizes a theoretical ambition — to know the causes of all knowledge by having the original source texts available it subsumes all the divisions and fields of knowledge under the highest of them all, speculative science: through the search for the causes of all things, the textual 'causes' or origins of all the sciences will be known.

But here we might ask why, given the philosophical model of intellectual ascent and the unity of knowledge that Thierry presents in his prologue, the *Heptateuchon* is arranged according to the old-fashioned and non-hierarchical structure of the seven liberal arts? The unity of knowledge and the idea of intellectual ascent could better be shown by the more philosophical epistemology that Thierry favours in his other writings, the Platonic–Stoic division into logic, ethics, and speculative sciences, such as he gives in his *De Trinitate* commentary. The doctrinal substance of such divisions is not necessarily different (that is, the seven liberal arts could be incorporated into any classification scheme, as, famously, in Hugh of St Victor's division of the sciences in *Didascalicon*, Book II); but the philosophical basis of the ideas of intellectual ascent and the unity of knowledge is more apparent in the Platonic–Stoic model. The answer may be obvious, but it bears underscoring. The seven liberal arts is a *curricular* model reflecting an ideal of classroom pedagogy: these are the materials one would actually teach in order to bring students to the point of epistemological reflection. One does not

simply teach a *philosophical* model of knowledge in the classroom, even though one's teaching may be underwritten by a philosophical epistemology. The arts are the teachable, transmissible elements of a knowledge system. A case in point from the *Heptateuchon* would be the account of rhetoric by Julius Severianus, mentioned above as one of the exceptions to Thierry's mission to bring together primary source texts and his exclusion of compendia. While Severianus's treatise is a summary of the art based on earlier sources, it may have held some particular appeal because it takes a very practical curricular approach to rhetoric (reminiscent of Quintilian's approach): the treatise describes rhetoric's place within a larger course of study, and then analyses the art in the hands-on terms of the parts of the oration. While it does not have much to add to the intrinsic doctrine of rhetoric, it could serve as a useful reminder of how rhetoric might be taught once other, more important, texts have supplied the doctrine.

This can answer Gillian Evans's claim that 'in many respects the Heptateuch is a disappointing work' that 'gives no impression of the schoolroom'. It is true that the anthology itself may not have been intended as a whole for classroom use: the volumes were too big to be used in this way; and it has also been pointed out, for example, that the presentation of arithmetical texts suggests overview rather than teaching materials in a strict sense.²⁰ But the organization is that of a curricular model, and it bears the stamp of a liberal arts course rather than a philosophical division of knowledge. Similarly this argument addresses the claim of Jacques Verger, who characterizes the Heptateuchon as a theoretical encyclopaedia of the arts and not a curriculum.²¹ In fact, the actual arrangement of texts is closer to a model of curricular practice than to a theoretical ideal of the division of knowledge, which is rather the subject of Thierry's prologue. The prologue speaks to the largest scientific concerns that had dominated Thierry's intellectual career, but the organization of the texts looks towards a student's actual progress, in what we might call 'curricular time', beginning with eloquence and ending with 'understanding' based on the natural sciences of the quadrivium.

It is also on the model of a liberal arts curriculum, and not on the model of a philosophical epistemology, that rhetoric claims close attention. Yet, as I intend to show here, Thierry's own commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* sub-

¹⁸ Severanius, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. and trans. by Montanari. The text was first edited in *Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. by Halm, pp. 353–70.

¹⁹ Evans, 'The Uncompleted *Heptateuch* of Thierry of Chartres', p. 1.

 $^{^{20}\,}$ Burnett, 'Scientific Speculations', p. 162, n. 41.

²¹ Verger, 'Le Cadre institutionnel de l'Ecole de Chartres jusqu'à Jean de Salisbury', p. 26.

jects rhetoric to considerations of causality similar to those that he brought to his treatment of Genesis in the *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, and that his contemporaries brought to scientific investigations of natural causes. How is the large paradigm of causality in its sacred and scientific senses enacted in regard to rhetoric, which — in the grand scheme of knowledge — occupies a rather humble position? (In his glosses on the *Ad Herennium*, Thierry even concludes that, according to Cicero, rhetoric is not even properly a part of 'philosophy', since 'Tully' distinguishes between his usual preference for studying 'philosophy' and his current project of writing about rhetoric at the request of Herennius.)²² What are the causes of rhetoric and how thus can its form of knowledge be defined? And further, how is the philosophical search for causality brought to bear on the practical interests of teaching the art of rhetoric?

The mythopoetic prohemium of Cicero's own *De inventione* (1.1.2–1.2.2) prompts Thierry to launch his investigation into the causes of rhetoric. In Cicero's version of the myth of the origins of civilization, rhetoric plays the key role in imposing order on a savage humanity; and most important in Ciceronian terms, the art of rhetoric, embodied in the persuasive eloquence of a 'great and wise man', gives birth to polity, to res publica, to the state. There were many of these myths of civilization around in antiquity, and Cicero's own version, in which rhetoric is the featured art, is traceable back to Isocrates. Some modern scholars have found little to recommend in Cicero's mythic prohemium, seeing it as derivative and hopelessly conventional.²³ Indeed it does derive from a classical literary *topos* in which the professional exponents of any given art — poetry, music, grammar — will portray it in mythical terms as the crucial technology that founded civilization.²⁴ These narratives of cultural origin have been studied as ancient anthropologies.²⁵ While Cicero invests his myth with considerable ideological value in terms of rhetoric's role in state-formation, it is also probably the case that for Cicero this was little more than a convenient topos. But Thierry treats the mythic prohemium with the reverence reserved for historical narrative.

²² Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 222, ll. 6–7: 'per hoc apparet rhetoricam non esse partem philosophiae, cum dicat se libentius velle studere in philosophia quam in rhetorica.'

²³ See for example Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, II: *The 'Ars Poetica'* (1971), p. 385, who calls it 'obviously derivative and traditional'. But for its importance see Kennedy, 'Language and Meaning in Archaic Classical Greece', p. 83; and Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, pp. 9–11.

²⁴ Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, II: *The 'Ars Poetica'* (1971), pp. 384–85, commenting on Horace, *Ars poetica*, ll. 391–407.

²⁵ Cole, Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology.

It is useful to present the whole of Cicero's mythic prohemium, in the form that Thierry knew it.

- I.1.2. Moreover, if we wish to consider the beginning [principium] of this thing we call eloquence whether [it is] a beginning [initium] of art [ars], study [studium], skill [exercitatio], or a natural faculty [facultas ab natura] we shall find that it [i.e., the principium or beginning of eloquence] arose [natum] from honourable causes and continued on its way from the best of reasons.
- I.2.2. For there was a time when men wandered at large in the fields like animals and sustained their lives on wild fare; they did nothing by the guidance of reason, but relied chiefly on physical strength; there was as yet no ordered system of religious worship nor of social duties; no one had seen legitimate marriage nor had anyone looked upon children whom he knew to be his own; nor had they learned the advantages of an equitable code of law. And so through their ignorance and error, blind and rash passion satisfied itself by misuse of bodily strength, which is a very dangerous servant.

At this juncture a man great and wise to be sure [magnus videlicet vir et sapiens] became aware of the power latent in man and the wide field offered by his mind for great achievements if one could develop this power and improve it by instruction. Men were scattered in the fields and hidden in sylvan retreats when he assembled and gathered them in accordance with a plan; he introduced them to every useful and honourable occupation, though they cried out against it at first because of its novelty [insolentia], and then when through reason and eloquence [ratio atque oratio] they had listened with greater attention, he transformed them from wild savages into a kind and gentle folk.²⁶

As we will see, Thierry takes this narrative apart and treats it as if it has the scientific validity of history. In fact, nowhere in his treatment of the prohemium does Thierry indicate that he regards it as myth, as an integument to be penetrated and unpacked. He takes it seriously and literally, far more literally than Cicero's at times ambiguous language and hesitant narrative probably deserve — note that Cicero is unwilling or unable to specify the essence of rhetoric. Scholars have noted in Thierry's philosophical commentaries a penchant for integumental readings, pointing to his poetic or figurative treatment of the language of philosophy, and his explication of the meanings behind the 'appearances' or similitudes of divine forms.²⁷ But here in the rhetoric commentary, in the treatment of Cicero's civilization myth, there is no point of contact with the integumental aesthetic

²⁶ Translation based on Cicero, *De inventione: De optimo genere oratorum; Topica*, trans. by Hubbell.

²⁷ See Wetherbee, 'Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', pp. 36–37; and Dronke, 'Thierry of Chartres', p. 365.

of Thierry's Chartrian contemporaries. By contrast, an earlier twelfth-century commentary on the *De inventione*, which Karin Margareta Fredborg has identified as the work of William of Champeaux, recognizes the affiliations of Cicero's story with other classical civilization myths: the earlier commentary glosses the *magnus vir* of Cicero's version as 'Orpheus siue Anphyon,'²⁸ registering the echo with such mythological accounts of the civilizing power of lyric poetry as we find in Horace, *Ars poetica*, ll. 391–401; Grillius's ancient commentary offers more extensive mytho-historical glossing in this vein.²⁹ Thierry knew the ancient and more recent treatments of this passage, but he studiously refuses the invitation — or precedent — to read the story as myth, resisting even the temptation that the ancient commentary of Victorinus holds out to read the passage by way of similitude.³⁰ For Thierry, this seems to be the language of history whose meanings are to be pondered or disambiguated, not allegorized.³¹

The opening sentence of Cicero's account commands most of Thierry's attention, for reasons that will become obvious. 'Moreover, if we wish to consider the beginning [principium] of this thing we call eloquence — whether it is a beginning [initium] of art [ars], study [studium], skill [exercitatio], or a natural faculty [facultas ab natura] — we shall find that it [i.e., the principium] arose [natum] from honourable causes [causae] and continued on its way from the best of reasons.' I quote the Ciceronian text as Thierry seems to have read it, with a variant reading ('sive artis inicium sive studi [...]') that is found in a substantial minority of early copies of the De inventione, including the copy of the De inventione in the Heptateuchon manuscript, Chartres, BM, MS 497, fol. 192^r. As we will see,

²⁸ York, Minster, MS XVI M 7, fol. 3^{va}. This text is currently being edited in William of Champeaux, *The Commentaries*, ed. by Scott, Ward, and Feros Ruys.

²⁹ Grillius, *Commentum in Ciceronis Rhetorica*, ed. by Jakobi, pp. 20–21, ll. 114–33.

³⁰ Victorinus, Explanationes in Ciceronis rhetoricam, ed. by Halm, p. 161, ll. 11–20.

³¹ See Speer, 'The Discovery of Nature', p. 145, on the same impulse in Adelard of Bath, who declares that he will approach questions 'not making up what does not exist, but expressing the nature of the thing' ('non fingendo, quod non est, sed naturam rei exprimendo'); Adelard of Bath, Die 'Quaestiones naturales', ed. by Müller, p. 26. Compare Thierry's opening words in his Tractatus de sex dierum operibus, where he says that he will set aside readings of the allegorical and moral senses of Genesis in favour of its 'natural' and historical senses, 'ad litteram' (see Commentum super Boethii librum 'De Trinitate', ed. by Häring, p. 555, ll. 1–6). On the idea that the language of history is non-allegorical, see Coleman, 'Universal History secundum physicam et ad litteram'.

³² The phrase then reads: 'Ac si volumus huius rei, qui vocatur eloquentia, sive artis initium, sive studii sive exercitationis cuiusdam sive facultatis ab natura profectae considerare principium [...]'; see Cicero, *Rhetorici libri duo qui vocantur 'De inventione'*, ed. by Stroebel, p. 2, l. 14, and apparatus. This reading is not accepted as authentic in standard modern editions of the work.

Thierry's exposition of this passage is based on having both words, *inicium* and *principium*, in the sentence. Thierry takes this sentence apart and remakes it as an induction, not only into rhetoric, but more importantly into the originary causes of knowledge. Cicero's own treatment of this question is rather ambiguous, gesturing towards old debates about rhetoric's exact nature that had never been resolved and that Cicero clearly did not intend to revisit. Cicero's uncertainty or refusal to reach a conclusion was apparent to one of his earliest commentators, Grillius, who notes that Cicero's scepticism stops him from giving a definitive answer about rhetoric's cause.³³

But for Thierry these are the key questions. Is eloquence essentially an art, that is, a distinctive field or discipline with its own theoretical principles? Or is it *ascesis*, that is, close philosophical study? Is it a skill to be practised? Or is it just a natural talent? These last two are, of course, the very questions thrown up by the Cornifician attack on the trivium: those favouring a streamlined curriculum maintained that long study of the language arts was unnecessary because speaking and arguing are natural abilities that are perfected by practice, not theory. As John O. Ward has shown, these curricular challenges were in contention during the first half of the twelfth century, decades before John of Salisbury sought to refute them in the *Metalogicon*, and thus they may certainly form part of the immediate institutional context for Thierry's interest in the question.³⁴

Thierry addresses these questions by developing the theme of 'beginning' as suggested in the sentence 'Ac si volumus huius rei [...] considerare principium', subjecting this to an excruciatingly detailed analysis:

In the first place, he shows that eloquence conjoined with wisdom is most beneficial, when he says **if we wish to consider the** *principium* of eloquence, that is, the *inchoatio* of eloquence, **we shall find** that the *principium* **arose from a most honourable cause**, that is, that it had its *inchoatio* in an honourable impulse of the soul, **and continued on its way from the best of reasons**, that is, was accomplished in a most orderly way. Now a cause is an impulse of the soul towards doing something.³⁵ And reason is an ordering of matters to be carried out arising from a cause, so that you understand what you must do or say when. Thus if one wishes to inquire about the *inchoatio* of something, he must first consider the cause of that *inchoatio*.

Since Tully introduced the idea that the *initium* of eloquence was either from **art**, or from **study**, etc., I say that there was a certain doubt concerning the *origo* of eloquence, whether it is born from art, study, practice, or natural faculty — that is

³³ Grillius, *Commentum in Ciceronis Rhetorica*, ed. by Jakobi, p. 16, ll. 4–13.

³⁴ Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione*'.

³⁵ Victorinus, Explanationes in Ciceronis rhetoricam, ed. by Halm, p. 160, ll. 4-6.

from a natural ability. The difference between study and practice is this, that study is a determination of the soul to do something, whereas practice is a sustaining of the action undertaken.

Thus we can see the meaning of the whole passage according to the order of its words. If, he says, we wish to consider the *inchoatio* of eloquence, whose *origo* is either art or effort or something else, if (I say) we want to consider this, we shall find that this *inchoatio* arose from the most honourable cause. This is the difference (here) between *initium* and *principium*: in this place, at least, an *initium* is said to be the *origo* of eloquence, from which it is born, which *origo* Tully presents somewhat doubtfully; but the *inchoatio* of eloquence in terms of action is called a *principium*.³⁶

In this highly calibrated inquiry into causes and beginnings, Thierry tries to make sense of the wording he has inherited from the *De inventione* (including the variant reading). For Thierry, the word *principium* would have a much stronger value as a primary beginning, a point of origin, given the sacred, scriptural associations of the term, and especially its importance in hexaemeral writings such as Thierry's own *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* (which was composed roughly within the same period as the Ciceronian commentaries).³⁷ But in Cicero's text, *principium* is used more loosely or ambiguously, to mark any point at which we can start to talk about the emergence of rhetoric. In brief, as I read the argument of the commentary, Thierry takes *principium* here to signify a secondary beginning in action, which he also calls *inchoatio*; the truly primary

³⁶ 'In primis igitur eloquentiam sapientiae iunctam multum prodesse ostendit dicens: si volumus considerare principium eloquentiae, id est eloquentiae inchoationem, reperiemus illud principium causa honestissima natum id est honestissimo impulsu animi inchoatum, et optimis rationibus profectum id est optimo ordine gestum. Nam causa est animi impulsus ad aliquid agendum. Ratio vero est gerendorum ordo ex causa venientium, ut quid quo loco facias ac dicas intellegas. Nam qui vult inchoationem alicuius rei inquirere, et primum eiusdem inchoationis causa attendenda est. Quod autem interposuit sive artis initium sive studii, etc., istud, inquam, dubitatio quaedam est de origine eloquentiae, utrum ex arte an ex studio an <ex> exercitatione an ex naturali facultate, id est ex ingenio naturali, nascatur. Inter studium autem et exercitationem hoc interest, quod studium est animi ad aliquid agendum pertinacia, exercitatio vero suscepti actus continuatio. Ordo autem totius sententiae verborum talis est: si, inquit, volumus considerare inchoationem eloquentiae, cuius origo aut ars est aut studium aut aliquid de ceteris, si, inquam, hoc volumus considerare, reperiemus illam inchoationem ex honestissima causa natam. Inter initium autem et principium hoc interest, quod initium quidem in hoc loco dicitur origo eloquentiae ex qua nascitur, quam originem Tullius sub quadam dubitatione ostendit; principium vero dicitur inchoatio eloquentiae secundum actum'; Thierry of Chartres, The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries, ed. by Fredborg, p. 60, ll. 26-48; translation from Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, pp. 420-21.

³⁷ On the uses of this term in hexaemeral commentaries and in Trinitarian debate, and on Thierry's other terminology, see Copeland, 'The History of Rhetoric and the *Longue Durée*'.

beginning would be the *initium*, which (as he says) 'Tully presents somewhat doubtfully'; this *initium*, the ultimate source or essence of eloquence, whether art, study, practice, or talent, is aligned with the term *origo*, which would define the essential beginnings of rhetoric: 'in this place, at least, *initium* is said to be the *origo* of eloquence, from which it is born.' Committed to expounding an 'authoritative' account that will not specify the primary causes that lie behind the matter at hand, Thierry attempts to establish a lexical distinction between primary and secondary causes.

Thierry was not the first medieval commentator to try to make sense of this ambiguous text. The glosses of Manegaldus and William of Champeaux also offer explanations of this passage, and from either of these predecessors Thierry may have derived some direction for his thinking. William's gloss, for example, notes that the 'beginning' considered here is not the point at which eloquence came into being, for that is unknown to us, but rather the point at which eloquence was activated in practice.³⁸

But Thierry's inquiries go much further and develop a truly philosophical cast. His glosses here share a common interest with his devotion to physical causality in the *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, where he dignifies and valorizes *physica* as a science of causes.³⁹ The *Tractatus* presents the notion of 'seminal causes', not just what was created, but the underlying causes of all future creation which were established as modes of creation during the first six days.⁴⁰ He endows the causality of the creation with a physical reality, as a necessary condition for rational discourse about origins; this may be understood as the aim behind his attachment to the *sensus historialis*.⁴¹ His language here echoes that of contemporary natural sciences: Adelard of Bath, for example, speculates about 'causes and the begin-

³⁸ York, Minster, MS XVI M 7, fol. 3^{rb}: 'non exordium quo ipsa cepit esse, quod illud nescimus, sed quo cepit agere'; Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium*', prints this passage (p. 21) but with some of the words left out. Compare the Manegaldus commentary on this passage, printed by Dickey (p. 21) from Köln, Dombibl., MS 197–1, fol. 3^r: 'Et est notandum quamvis inicium et principium eidem rei imponantur [...] tamen in hoc diversa sunt quia gravius est capere quam sit inire et ideo pocius posuit principium' (note that although [the words] *inicium* and *principium* may be used for the same thing [...] nevertheless in this place they are different, because it is more important [or harder] to grasp [something] than to undertake [something], and so he preferred to use the word *principium*).

³⁹ Rodrigues, 'Thierry de Chartres', p. 325.

⁴⁰ See *Tractatus*, § 16, in *Commentum super Boethii librum 'De Trinitate'*, ed. by Häring, pp. 16–17; see Häring, 'The Creation and Creator of the World', p. 150.

⁴¹ Lejbowicz, 'Thierry de Chartres entre *expositio* et *tractatus*', p. 92.

nings of causes of things.'⁴² Adelard, following the Calcidian *Timaeus*, also assigns the term *initia* to first principles.⁴³ Indeed, Thierry's definition of terms in the rhetoric commentary seems to correspond to the terminology of the Calcidian *Timaeus*: in Calcidius's translation, *initium* and *origo* are used as equivalents for the Greek *archê*, just as Thierry defines them here as synonyms for primary causes or ultimate origins.⁴⁴

Thus there is a philosophical, scientific, and ultimately sacred vocabulary of causes that seems to underlie Thierry's attempt to clarify how we can speak about the causes of rhetoric. To speak of causes is to do more than define the specific art: it is to grasp the essence of knowledge. Thierry has a certainty about knowledge and wisdom that is not served by Cicero's (perhaps deliberate) ambiguity. As Thierry says in his commentary on Boethius's De Trinitate, 'wisdom is the comprehension of the truth of those things that exist, that is, things that are unchanging, 45 an idea also inscribed in the preface to the *Heptateuchon*. This is the definitive wisdom of unchanging truths to which eloquence must be joined: it is the *intellectus* or understanding that will be joined to eloquence, an echo, in turn, of Cicero's famous formulation of the joining of wisdom and eloquence. For Thierry, this is more than the definition of rhetoric: it is the paradigm for the fundamental unity of the arts. This unity is enacted in the Heptateuchon through the bringing together of authentic writings which can demonstrate their interrelationship. It finds expression in the teaching recorded in his rhetoric commentary, where his definition of wisdom is mapped onto his philosophical epistemology: what Cicero calls 'study of reasoning and moral conduct' (ratio et officium) is the study of wisdom, 'which we call philosophy. Wisdom is perfect knowledge, either of reasoning, which pertains to speculative science and logic, or of moral conduct, which pertains to ethics.'46

⁴² Adelard of Bath, *De eodem et diverso*, ed. and trans. by Burnett, p. 17: 'earum causas et causarum initia'.

⁴³ Adelard of Bath, *Die 'Quaestiones naturales'*, ed. by Müller, p. 69, ll. 13–20.

⁴⁴ Plato, *Timaeus*, ed. by Waszink; *initium*: pp. 15.4; 21.5; 38.12; 40.5; 45.24 and 27; 46.4 and 10; *origo*: pp. 22.21; 29.5; 45.17; *initia* and *origo*: p. 46.7.

⁴⁵ Commentum super Boethii librum 'De Trinitate', ed. by Häring, 11.2, p. 68: 'Sapientia vero est conprehensio ueritatis eorum que sunt i.e. inmutabilium.'

⁴⁶ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 59, ll. 4–7: 'Studium autem *rationis et officii* appellavit studium sapientiae, quod philosophiam nominamus. Est enim sapientia integra cognitio aut *rationis*, quae pertinet ad speculativam et logicam, aut *officii* quod ad ethicam pertinet.'

But this still leaves us with questions about the causes of rhetoric. If we are going to teach and study rhetoric closely, as Thierry's literal commentary demands, the origin or cause of eloquence must be known as certainly as we know anything else. But how is this to be understood, in the absence of any reliable pronouncement from Cicero on originary causes? The answer seems to be that we can at least know the honourable beginnings of rhetoric in the human, historical terms of action.

This historical explanation is to be found in Cicero's account of how rhetoric imposed civilizing order. In Thierry's hands, Cicero's exordium becomes a founding reason for study, an ushering in to the moral values of rhetoric:

Wanting to show the causes from which eloquence arose, that is, its start [inchoatio] according to action, Tully at first briefly and properly described the bestial savagery of men, as it was at the beginning of the world [in principio mundi], so that he may show how the savagery of men was driven out, cities were built and many other good things came about (as shown in the text), through the joining of eloquence to wisdom at that first moment and because of this start [inchoatio]. This makes readers of the art of rhetoric well disposed.⁴⁷

The myth about the origins of civilization is an initiation into the teaching of rhetoric, a formal exordium to the text and an introduction to the discipline. The narrative describes the first moment at which eloquence was joined to wisdom and a social order took shape, and this is an historical event that recurs in the souls of each group of readers who come to the art of rhetoric. The primary causes of rhetoric, as Cicero presents them, may have to be left in doubt, but there should be no doubt about the beginnings of eloquence in action or practice. In an earlier passage, Thierry had noted (following Victorinus) that 'a cause is an impulse of the soul to act upon something.' Such action begins not just in a specific historical moment, the beginning of civilization, but in the souls of his students who are entering into the study of rhetoric. We may not be able to get to the originary causes of eloquence, but we can start eloquence in 'ethical time', at the moment when we are prompted to begin the action of learning. The civilization myth, when eloquence was first joined to wisdom and emerged in practice, incorporates Thierry's own students, at their own historical moment, as those

⁴⁷ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 60, ll. 49–55: 'Causas ex quibus nata est, id est secundum actum inchoata, eloquentia volens Tullius ostendere primo ruditatem hominum bestialem, quae in principio mundi fuit, breviter et commode descripsit, ut per eloquentiam iunctam sapientiae tunc primo et propter hoc inchoatam ostendat et ruditatem illam hominum fuisse depulsam et civitates constitutas et multa alia commoda, quae in littera ostenduntur. Quae res facit lectores arti rhetoricae benivolos'.

who are being ushered into action. In his historical moment, Thierry the teacher re-enacts the role of the *magnus vir* of Cicero's legend, whose persuasive instruction harnessed the intellectual and social potential that was latent in humans. As an exordium, this historical narrative will render his own students well disposed through its historical exemplification of the *inchoatio* of eloquence in practice.

Can we conclude that this is the practical, *curricular* model of learning that emerges at last? As I read the turn in Thierry's argument, we are left, finally, with a justification for the study of rhetoric in terms of pedagogical action, not in terms of the highest reaches of philosophical speculation. The discipline of rhetoric claims our attention on curricular, not philosophical, grounds. In the rhetoric commentary, the large epistemological questions about the causes of eloquence are contained within the terms of a pedagogical approach to the subject, just as the Heptateuchon frames its ambitious philosophical epistemology — the unity of the sciences, intellectual ascent through the speculative sciences of the quadrivium — within an altogether more practical, curricular scheme of the seven liberal arts and the authentic primary texts that constitute a course of study. Thierry's actual teaching of rhetoric seems to be the exemplification of his idea that the knowable beginning of eloquence is in action, in the actual study of a concrete discipline with its precise set of rules. In Thierry's commentary we can trace an ethical movement: he comes down from the dizzy heights of philosophical speculation about ultimate causes to address the pedagogical problem at hand: how eloquence begins for readers of the art. I believe that this can help to explain why Thierry valued the primary texts of the rhetorical tradition (as of all the other arts traditions), and the purpose he saw these primary texts performing in his 'bible of the liberal arts'. Certainly in the case of the De inventione, Cicero's authentic text offers what no modern compendium could provide, an opportunity for meditation on the ethical dimensions of rhetorical doctrine.⁴⁸

In *Metalogicon*, II.10, John of Salisbury tells us that he did not profit very much from Thierry's lectures on rhetoric, or at least that he did not understand very much about rhetoric, although later on he derived more from Petrus Helias.⁴⁹ But it is hard to see why he should have had difficulty with the subject under

⁴⁸ For example, *De inventione*, II.52. 157, on the rules for deliberative oratory and the nature of virtue, to which Thierry devotes a detailed exposition, became a classic text of moral instruction in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See Delhaye, 'L'Enseignement de la philosophie morale au XII^c siècle', p. 93.

⁴⁹ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, Bk II, Chap. 10, ll. 52–54 (p. 72): 'Relegi quoque rethoricam, quam prius cum quibusdam aliis a magistro Theodorico tenuiter auditis paululum intelligebam. Sed eam postmodum a Petro Helia plenius accepi.'

Thierry's guidance, at least if Thierry's commentaries on the Ciceronian texts are an accurate record of his classroom teaching. It is true that Thierry's readings do not provide explicit connections between the matter of rhetorical doctrine and its contemporary professional applications, but on the other hand, Thierry shows remarkable sensitivity to Cicero's concern with the public utility of eloquence. It is possible, of course, that Thierry's classroom approach was more tied in with his philosophical epistemology of the unity of the arts than is actually indicated in his commentary. Yet the depth and detail of his expositions, especially of the *De inventione*, impose great coherence on the formal structure of Cicero's own arguments, so that a student might see at key moments how Cicero both teaches and performs the art.

John of Salisbury's dissatisfaction is countered, in the early years of the next century, by Ralph of Longchamps, who makes extended and seemingly grateful use of Thierry's commentary in his own exposition of Alan of Lille's summary of the art in the *Anticlaudianus*. ⁵² By culling from Thierry's commentary, Ralph swells the section he devotes to rhetoric to a length three or four times greater than that he devotes to all the other arts except astronomy. The irony of this should not escape us: in order to expound Alan of Lille's highly abbreviated compendium of rhetorical doctrine, Ralph avails himself of Thierry's detailed, literal commentary on the primary Ciceronian texts. Thierry's justification in the *Heptateuchon* for archiving primary texts comes full circle here, about sixty years after the fact: Ralph needed Thierry's reading of the primary text *ad litteram* in order to expound the summary of rhetorical doctrine in Alan's allegorized compendium of the arts.

This closing of the circle in the historical reception of Thierry's commentary is a paradigm for his own pedagogical outlook. Just as his *Heptateuchon* turns from a philosophical epistemology in its prologue to a practical and foundational curricular archive in its contents, so he was also to turn from theoretical speculation about the ultimate causes of rhetoric to the practical task before him, activating the knowledge of rhetoric in the souls of his students through close engagement with the letter of the Ciceronian text. In this, he embraces the ethical dimension of rhetoric more profoundly than any theoretical discussion of eloquence and the *res publica* can achieve by itself: the disciplinary cause of rhetoric is no less than the action of teaching, learning, and ensuring the continuation of 'good study'.

 $^{^{50}\,}$ See Nederman, 'The Union of Wisdom and Eloquence'.

⁵¹ See Mews, 'In Search of a Name and its Significance', p. 187.

⁵² Campo, *In Anticlaudianum Alani commentum*, ed. by Sulowski.

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THE GRAMMAR AND RHETORIC OFFERED TO JOHN OF SALISBURY

Karin Margareta Fredborg

fter the classification of the arts and sciences into 'sapientia' and 'eloquentia' in his earliest work, the gloss on Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, William of Conches pictures the seven liberal arts represented by the letters alpha and omega adorning the dress of Lady Philosophy. In one hand, she holds a sceptre, representing the ruling of the community ('regimen rerum publicarum') by bishops and others, and in the other hand she holds books, representing the study of scholars ('studium otiosorum'). William then proceeds to the pedagogy of the artes: the wise (the sapientes) should become teachers, and teach good and obedient students, but punish the stubborn and rebellious ones, as in Virgil's Aeneid, VI.853: 'These will be your skills [...] to show mercy to the conquered and wage war until the haughty are brought low' ('hae tibi erunt artes [...] parcere subiectis and debellare superbos'). So Lady Philosophy should take the books in her right hand and the warlike sceptre in her left, William continues, because it is more noble to avoid evil willingly, because of the admonitions of the wise and the love of them, than to do so just from fear of being punished.¹

William seemed to offer to his students quite a future: the hope of becoming a bishop (the *vita activa*) or of having leisure for study (the *vita contemplativa*). He treated the good students kindly, and invited them to see teaching within the ambit of the Virgilian *Pax Augustiana*: 'These will be your skills [...]'. As we know, eventually much of this did come true for John of Salisbury — he ended

¹ William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 36. It is noteworthy that in the iconographical representation of *Grammatica*, she keeps her books in her right hand, whereas *Rhetorica* regularly holds a sword in her right hand: see Heckenkamp, 'Text and Image'.

up as bishop in Chartres, and his learning and studies have become a matter of common praise.

The extant grammatical and rhetorical texts by John's teachers, William of Conches, Thierry of Chartres, and Petrus Helias, obviously differ according to their genre (summa or gloss), length, author, and intended readers.² None of the extant manuscripts can be dated to the time immediately subsequent to their composition. The two (now burned) manuscripts, Chartres, BM, MS 497 and Chartres, BM, MS 498, contain Thierry's gift to his chapter library, his Heptateuchon, and are probably closest in date to the conception of this text collection, namely a master copy (in a large format of 43×36.5 cm) of all the important classical textbooks of the seven liberal arts. Here, as he says in his Prologue, Thierry wanted 'to marry the Trivium to the Quadrivium, with the great approval of Apollo and the Muses', and 'according to the authority of both Greek and Latin authors [vates]', so he could provide a 'collective and unique instrument for philosophizing,' for philosophy is love of wisdom, and wisdom is the full acquisition of truth concerning what there is in this world.'

Of Thierry's own writings on the trivium, although his grammatical opinions are once quoted with those of William of Conches, only the rhetorical commentaries have survived; these include eight manuscripts of the *De inventione* commentary and one of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* commentary. In the *De inventione*

- ² The writings of William of Conches are currently being published by Brepols in their series Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis in new or revised editions: see William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*, ed. by Ronca; William's early gloss on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta); and the slightly longer William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau. For details of Thierry's two rhetorical commentaries (around 165 and 140 pages), see n. 4 below. For Petrus Helias's thousand-page *Priscian Summa*, see Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. by Reilly.
- ³ 'Coaptauimus et triuium quadriuio ad generose nationis phylosophorum propaginem, quasi maritali federe copulauimus [...] magnoque apollinis et musarum consensu, epithalamica sollempnitate coniunctam esse tam grai quam romulei uates contestantur [...] manifestum est eptateuchon totius phylosophye unicum et singulare esse instrumentum. Phylosophya autem est amor sapientie, sapientia uero est integra comprehensio ueritatis eorum que sunt [...]. In hac autem septem artium liberalium synodo ad cultum humanitatis conducta prima omnium grammatica procedit' (my translation); see Jeauneau, 'Le *Prologus in Eptateuchon* de Thierry de Chartres', p. 174, and see also Dronke, 'Thierry of Chartres'. A twelve-page long description by Mlle Brayer exists in Paris, at the Institut pour étude et recherche des textes. There is a photograph of the prologue in Jeauneau, 'Lectio philosophorum'. Of special interest in the Heptateuchon are the earliest texts of Aristotle's Topics, Prior Analytics, and Sophistici Elenchi; see Aristotle, Analytica priora, ed. by Minio-Paluello; Aristotle, Topica, ed. by Minio-Paluello and Dod; and Aristotle, De sophisticis elenchis, ed. by Dod. For some of the quadrivium texts, see Burnett, 'The Contents and Affiliation of the Scientific Manuscripts'.

tione commentary, Thierry talks about his fame as a grammarian and a Platonist, and his great desire to be considered an important master of dialectic,⁴ exactly as his interests are described in his obituary:

Thierry, the worthy successor of Aristotle, [...]

All complex and difficult communication became clear [patuit] to him,

nor was he slow to appreciate hidden meanings.

He worked on both the quadrivum and the trivium simultaneously,

and, scrutinizing them vigilantly and laboriously, he made them accessible to all.

What Plato, what Socrates had hidden under metaphorical expression [*integumentis*], he opened up, magisterially, and explained open and freely.

Untying the difficult knots of logic, he penetrated into such matters

that our age had not perceived before:

He was the first to approach the *Analytics* and he unlocked the *Sophistici Elenchi*; ⁵

Among the Gauls, he piled up Greek riches.6

Thierry's Rhetoric

Thierry's commentary on the *De inventione* was copied well into the fifteenth century, and earned him the name of *Commentator*, being quoted in Italy in the 1170s,⁷ in Spain by Gundissalinus, and in France by Alanus and Ralph of

- ⁴ 'Invidia falso vultu Dialectice subornata Famam sic alloquitur [...]. Ecce Theodoricus Brito [...] quod maxime de tuis donis appetit aut meretur illud ei subtrahe, ut ne promeruisse videatur. [...] In scholis vero et scholarium conventibus mentes commutat ut ignominiam eius lucretur. Platonem ei concedit ut rhetoricam auferat, rhetoricam vero vel grammaticam quasi per hypothesim donat ut dialecticam subripiat quidlibet vero potius quam dialecticam!' Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 107–08; see also pp. 1 and 5 for his teaching of grammar and dialectic.
- ⁵ Thierry had a very early interest in the New Aristotle and is said to have used the text of the *Sophisticis Elenchis* even before Adam of Balsham wrote his *Ars disserendi* in 1132; see Minio-Paluello, 'The *Ars disserendi* of Adam of Balsham Parvipontanus', pp. 119 and 161.
- ⁶ 'Dignus Aristotilis successor Teodericus | [...] Omnis ei patuit sermo perplexus et anceps | Nec fuit ad quevis abdita sensus hebes. | Quadruvium triviumque simul scrutando labore | Pervigili cunctis fecit utrumque patens. | Quod Plato, quod Socrates clausere sub integumentis | Hic reserans docuit disseruit palam. | Dissolvens Logice nodos penetravit ad illa | Que non adtigerant tempora nostra prius: | Primus Analeticos primusque resolvit Helencos, | E Gallis grecas accumulavit opes'; see Vernet, 'Une Épitaphe de Thierry de Chartres', pp. 669–70, ll. 1 and 19–28 of the epitaph.
 - ⁷ Alessio, 'Due trattati di retorica', p. 11; and Fredborg, 'The "Lucca" Summa on Rhetoric'.

Longchamp. The eight manuscripts of Thierry's *De inventione* commentary form a coherent text, and the commentary is found in one version only, unlike some earlier and later rhetoricians' works and most of the works by William of Conches (which exist in two or even three versions). Generally the manuscript tradition of Thierry's rhetoric is sound. Of the five extant twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts, one (L) is but a fragment, yet interesting enough to have been edited in the middle of the nineteenth century, while another is part of a large collective manuscript (B) where it is bound with texts containing excerpts from William of Conches's philosophical treatises, Cicero's speeches and those of

MS A: BL, MS Arundel 348, fols 102^{r} – 179^{v} (s. xii fin, 19.7 cm × 20.3 cm), last quaternion lost (this means a lack of pp. 212.30–215.51 of the edition), with *De inventione, Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Boethius, *Commentarium maior in Aristotilem De interpretatione*;

MS B: Brussels, BrB/KBB, MS 10057–62, fols 2^{ra}–30^{va} (s. xii, 22.7 cm × 15.1 cm), collective manuscript bound with excerpts of William of Conches, *Philosophia mundi* and *Dragmaticon*, and with Cicero, *In Catilinam*, 1–1V, and Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*;

MS H: Heidelberg, Univ. Bibl., MS Salem 7.103, fols 142^{ra} – 173^{vb} (s. xii fin, 21 cm × 14 cm), collective manuscript bound with mainly theological texts, including Ivo of Chartres, *De ecclesiasticis sacramentis* (*Patrologia Latina*, CLXII, cols 505–68) and *Sententiae* from the School of Anselm of Laon;

MS L: Leiden, Bibl. Rijksuniv., MS B.P.L. 189, fols $42^{c}-45^{v}$ (s. xii, $12.5 \text{ cm} \times 7 \text{ cm}$), collective manuscript bound with canonical texts and fragments of classical authors;

MS M: München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS clm 3565, fols 174^{ra}–219^{va} (s. xv), written in the same hand as the preceding commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by Giles of Rome and Grillius's commentary on *De inventione*, and followed by a fragment of Victorinus's *De inventione* commentary;

MS O: BL, MS Harley 5060, fols 89^{r} – 138^{v} (Anno 1426, 18.9×12.7 cm), omits the first prologue, bound with Cicero, *De officiis* and *Pro Marcello*;

MS P: Praha, Státni Knihovna, CSR, MS VIII. h. 33, fols 1^r–34^v (Anno 1462), marginal gloss, stops at *De inventione*, 1.45.84;

MS Ph: Berlin, SPK, MS lat. oct. 161 (formerly Cheltenham, Phillips 9672) fols 1^{ra} – 35^{vb} (s. xii, 19.5 cm × 13 cm), followed by a fragment of Manegold's commentary on *De inventione* (comparable with MS Köln, Dombibliothek, 197 fol. 24^r); Thierry's commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is only found only in MS Ph, fols 36^{vb} – 75^{vb} .

¹¹ Edited in *Historia critica scholiastorum*, ed. by Suringar, pp. 213–52 from Leiden, Bibl. Rijksuniv., MS B.P.L. 189, fols 42^r–45^v; the text covers *De inventione*, I.1.1–I.5.7.

⁸ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 28–30.

⁹ See Ward, Ciceronian Rhetoric, p. 223; and Ward, 'Alan (of Lille?) as Rhetor'.

¹⁰ The following is an abbreviated version of the manuscript descriptions found in Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 31–42:

Sallust (so-called). The third manuscript (Ph) also has Thierry's commentary on the *Ad Herennium*, whereas the last two (A, H) have all of the *De inventione* commentary except for the very last two to four pages of the modern edition.

Of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, one is but a marginal gloss (P), another (O) has a few interpolations from later writers, but the third (M) is particularly noteworthy, because here Thierry is part of a veritable canon of rhetorical authorities: Giles of Rome's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, then three commentaries on the *De inventione* by Grillius, Thierry, and Victorinus (a fragment only). All texts in this Munich manuscript are written by the same hand. It must be stressed, however, that such large collective manuscripts — obviously serving the role of mastercopies — are rare and costly. Texts for secular learning may be bound together with many other texts, but they usually display a modest layout and design and are often in octavo; the *Heptateuchon* is an exception here, as are similar grand copies.

Petrus Helias's Rhetoric

As it happens, twelfth-century rhetorical glosses often survived better than many grammatical and logical works which are now only extant in single manuscripts or a few copies. Helias's *Summa* on the *De inventione* is found in eight copies, and is a text that deserves editing. The earlier glosses on the *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux are also found in multiple copies: six and four respectively. 15

John of Salisbury compared Petrus Helias's and Thierry's rhetoric teaching thus:

I also reviewed rhetoric, of which, together with certain other studies, I had already learned a little in previous studies under Master Theodoric, but of which, as of

¹² See Fredborg, 'The Unity of the Trivium', p. 328; and Heckenkamp, 'Text and Image', p. 97.

 $^{^{13}}$ For example, the twelfth-century manuscript Lucca, Bibl. Capitolare Feliniana, MS 624 (s. xii, donated by Bishop William of Lucca, d. 1194), which is a huge quarto (53 × 36.5 cm), written in three columns following the special layout of the first text, namely Papias's dictionary: see Papias, Ars grammatica, ed. by Cervani, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv; and Alessio, 'Due trattati di retorica', pp. 3–7.

¹⁴ For example, the grammar and logic by the followers of Gilbert de la Porrée, *Compendium logicae porretanum*, ed. by Ebbesen, Fredborg, and Nielsen; Fredborg and Kneepkens, '*Grammatica Porretana*'; and Ebbesen, 'A Porretan Commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*'. See particularly Marenbon, 'Medieval Latin Commentaries and Glosses on Aristotelian Loical Texts'.

¹⁵ For Petrus Helias, see Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, p. 145, n. 301; for William of Champeaux, see Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, pp. 230–32; and Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', pp. 1–2.

these, I did not understand a great deal. Later, however, I learned more [plenius accepi] rhetoric from Peter Helias.¹⁶

Why did John fail to understand Thierry and prefer Petrus Helias?¹⁷ John's 'plenius accepi' could very well point to the succinct and very thorough glossing manner of Petrus Helias. Or, could it be that Thierry had paved the way, because Petrus Helias was Thierry's student, and influenced by him even in grammatical doctrines?¹⁸ Petrus Helias's *De inventione* commentary also shares both formal and doctrinal features with Thierry's, and he interacts with Thierry's doctrines both by adding divergent views or implicitly quoting Thierry (see Appendix 1 and 2 to this chapter). However, there is also one important difference, namely that Petrus Helias does not write a *Glosa* or a *Commentarius*, but a lemma-free

¹⁶ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, 11.10 (p. 72, ll. 52–54): 'Relegi quoque rethoricam quam prius cum quibusdam aliis a magistro Theodorico tenuiter auditis paululum intelligebam. Sed eam postmodum a Petro Helias plenius accepi;' John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, trans. by McGarry, pp. 97–98.

¹⁷ The context of this remark is not necessarily easy to understand, because John has just told us that after three very good years studying with the grammarian William of Conches, he took up his studies in various subjects with Richard Episcopus — whom he had called his grammar master along with William earlier in the *Metalogicon* (John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, I.24 (p. 54, l. 117)). See Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* by Thierry of Chartres', p. 231. Ward, 'Alan (of Lille?) as Rhetor', p. 165, takes Richard Episcopus to be the rhetoric master of John of Salisbury as well, based on what John says in *Metalogicon* II.10. Keats-Rohan also makes Richard a teacher of rhetoric in Keats-Rohan, 'The Chronology of John of Salisbury's Studies in France'. The anonymity of the early versions of Alanus, including the commentary called *Etsi ea*, in Venezia, Bibl. Marciana, MS lat. XI.23 fols 41^{ra} – 75^{rb} , is a very vexing question indeed, since the Alanus commentary is clearly twelfth-century doctrinally, but no manuscripts of the short or the long version of Alanus date back to that century.

¹⁸ Alanus [BL, MS Harley 6324], fol. 61^{ra-b}: Quid veniam, qui sim etc. Dicunt quidam et magister Theodor<ic>us quod hi[n]c consideratur ornatus in hoc (hec MS) quod hic non ponuntur nisi verba subiunctiva. Quod non videtur secundum Petrum Eliam: In his enim est ornatus similis, quod quid, quis, quare, cui (cur MS) et si qua similia.

Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 337–38, ll. 88–91: *huiusmodi*: scilicet per eundem verbi modum diversa verba proferuntur hoc modo: *quid veniam* etc. Potest etiam hic quaedam dictionum similitudo notari, qua convenientior ab uno ad aliud fit verborum transitio, ut *quis*, *quid*, *quare*, etc.

Etsi ea, Venezia, Bibl. Marciana, MS lat. XI.23, fol. 80^{ra}: *Quid veniam* etc. Dicunt quidam quod ornatus consideratur in hoc exemplo in hoc quod non in hoc ponuntur nisi verba subiunctiva, quod minime credo, sed in his similibus (sillis MS) credo ornatum esse *qui*, *quare*, *cui* et si qua sunt similia.

See also Kneepkens, 'Peter Helias'.

*Summa*¹⁹ closely following the structure of the *De inventione* and the disposition of Thierry's commentary.

According to John O. Ward, both Petrus Helias and Thierry stand out from their predecessors by introducing four or five salient new features: 1) a new *accessus* form, dividing the more general *extrinsic* features of the art of rhetoric from the *intrinsic* matters dealt with by Cicero; 2) a new terminology; 3) a working out of the major contradictions between the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium*; and 4) a control on verbosity and an established canon of set illustrations from poets and prosewriters. To these four characteristics the later twelfth-century rhetoricians then added an emphasis on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as the main textbook.²⁰

Ward has given the fullest description of the eight manuscripts of Petrus Helias's *De inventione summa*. Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., MS 85, section III, is of Benedictine origin and comes from Bury St Edmunds,²¹ but other manuscripts were copied in Paris and spread from there to the German Dominican *studia* and libraries.²² The good Vatican manuscript, BAV, MS lat. Ottobon. 2993 (anno 1357 AD), has an ascription to Petrus Helias: 'Rationes Petri Elie super libro rethoricorum veterum Tullii' (fol. 58^r).²³

Petrus Helias has an interesting *accessus* which is a good deal fuller than Thierry's.²⁴ He is a talented and precise reporter of other rhetoricians' views and takes full advantage of the late antique commentary on the *De inventione* by Victorinus,²⁵ as can be seen from his discussions of types of rhetorical arguments (see Appendix 1). Furthermore, he shows an unusual interest in law, distinguishing between the ethos of *iusticia* and the solemnity of the various types of law, including details of declaration of war, matrimonial law, setting up contracts, and so on (see Appendix 2). Finally, he is, to my knowledge, the most outspoken medieval

¹⁹ The *Summae* of Petrus Helias are never far from the actual text discussed; for instance, variant readings are discussed: see Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. by Reilly, p. 838, ll. 38–43: 'Alii libri habent [...], alii [...], cetera non mutantur.'

²⁰ See Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, p. 143; also Maieru, review of Fredborg, *Thierry's Rhetorical Commentaries*, p. 379: 'la sottigliezza e l'esaustività della terminologia'. See also Fredborg, 'Thierry of Chartres, Innovator or Traditionalist?', p. 130.

²¹ See Olsen, 'The Production of the Classics in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', p. 8.

²² Ward, Ciceronian Rhetoric, pp. 145 and 154.

²³ See Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 11 (1967), 422.

²⁴ Ward, 'Alan (of Lille?) as Rhetor', p. 166.

²⁵ Along with the *De inventione* itself and Cicero's *De officiis*, Victorinus supplied teachers of both the liberal arts and theology with a storehouse of ethical concepts. For ethics and theology, see the excellent survey of secondary literature and topics in Marenbon, 'Abelard's Ethical Theory'.

rhetorician on the great divide between actual court procedure and the idealized picture of the rigid observance of the different classifications (*constitutiones*).²⁶

William of Conches's Grammar

John did not learn grammar from Petrus Helias — Petrus Helias's grammatical Summa is later than his rhetorical one, so John may not even have known that he was to become the most famous grammarian of the twelfth century.²⁷ Instead, John turned to Bernard of Chartres's student William of Conches whose long Priscian Glose is today found in three versions. One is from William's 'youth', without commentary on syntax (now Firenze, Bibl. Laurent., MS San Marco 310), worn and occasionally difficult to read. Another is a reportatio fragment now in Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Laud. lat. 67, fols 15-19, bound with a number of incomplete works on grammar and logic (fols 1–19) and with the anonymous Priscian commentary *Promisimus* following it. ²⁸ The third manuscript contains a neatly written full version from William's senior years (BnF, MS lat. 15130). The thoroughness displayed in defining structural and functional categories in grammar and syntax and in finding the raison d'être (causa inventionis) for the word classes and all their specific features, and the careful exposition of both the meaning and the details of the text (sententia, sensus, littera) make this an interesting text. It is enlivened by examples from classical authors and gives us many insights into William's fight against talkative students, garciones, 29 all of which matches well John of Salisbury's loving picture of the ideal grammarian in *Metalogicon*, 1.24.

One linguistic detail perhaps worth mentioning here is that William departs from the practice of his predecessors who, in the various versions of the *Glosulae*, analyse Priscian according to syllogistic analysis and argumentative patterns (finding the *propositio*, *assumptio*, and *conclusio* in Priscian's arguments).³⁰ Instead,

²⁶ Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., MS 85, sect. III, fol. 85^{ra}: 'In formanda vero constitutione dolo fere omnes apud nos hodie tenentur. Cum enim reus a pretore vel a principe devocatur in ius, audito quid intendatur in eum, differt depulsionem plerumque dicens se non ideo venisse ut causaretur, sed ut audiret quid ei adversarius imponere vellet et die prestituta a iudice responsurum super hoc promittens [...] Nescio quid doli subest in huiuscemodi depulsionis dilatione cum intentione audita ut cause constitutio formaretur, deberet statim depellere.'

²⁷ Kneepkens, *Het Iudicium Constructionis*; Fredborg, 'The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose*', p. 4.

²⁸ De Rijk, *Logica modernorum*, 11.1 (1967), 77–81; 'Promisimus', ed. by Fredborg, p. 81.

²⁹ See Jeauneau, 'Deux redactions des Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscian'.

³⁰ See Kneepkens, 'Master Guido and his View on Government', p. 121.

William explicitly feels called upon to interpret Priscian as one of the *auctores*, that is by systematically altering the word order of Priscian's text according to what is known as *ordo naturalis* in sentence structure: first the subject, then the verb, then the object (and indirect object), and finally the adverbs and adverbial phrases.³¹ As the Priscian *lemmata* in the manuscripts of William of Conches's grammar are mostly so heavily abbreviated that the individual words are only given the first letter, a modern editor will have to spend quite some time finding the correlated words in William's long jumbled lists of *lemmata* initial letters.³²

³¹ BnF, MS lat. 15130, fol. 86^{ra}: 'Quemadmodum. Ostensa materia et qualiter <in> sequentibus deberet agere, utilitatem sciencie construendi subiungit \in/ quo lectorem attentum < reddit>. Continuatio. De constructione dictionum in hoc opere dicemus, quam constructionem id est scienciam construendi DEBEMUS INQUIRERE DILIGENTISSIME a magistris et proprio ingenio, non coacti ut parvuli nec propter emolumentum ut avari nec propter laudem ut superbi, sed DILIGENTISSIME id est diligentia ipsium sciencie. Qui enim scienciam quam querit diligit facile illam reperit. Diligencia enim, teste Chalcidii, res difficiles faciles facit. Inde est quod multos hodie legere, set /fol. 86^{ra}/ paucos proficere videmus. Non enim legunt quia artes diligant sed ut pecuniam vel laudem adquirant, sed hoc videtur <***> milicia nullus ad astra venit. Et secundum Fulgencium "hodie est periculum et nosse et habere". Et quare illam inquirere debemus ostendit ADMODUM id est valde NECESSARIA<M> scilicet D<ILIGENTISSIME> quia est valde necessaria AD EXPOSITIONEM AUCTORUM non duorum vel trium, sed OMNIUM. Sed quomodo videamus. Omnes auctores vel metrice vel prosaice vel mixtim scribunt. Ut autem necesse est naturalis ordo dictionum lege metri mutatur, cum naturalis ordo exigit nomen preponi in oratione, verbum sequi deinde obliquum casum, adverbium verbo adherere et similia, aliquando propter tempora et pedes metri ordo ille mutatur ut hic "iram pa. michi" hic enim accusativus preponitur, verbum sequitur. Necesse autem est in expositione ad suum naturalem ordinem dictiones reducere, quod sine sciencia construendi facile fieri non potest. Qui vero prosaice scribunt ordinem naturalem similiter mutant, quippe sunt dictiones que post quasdam male, post alias bene sonant. Qui autem arte et non casu scribunt prius scienciam diligunt, deinde quot modis illa sentencia potest significari aspiciunt, postea pulcriora verba ad hoc faciendum ponunt considerantes quo ordine illa verba prolata melius sonabunt' (my italics). See also the anonymous twelfth-century gloss, in the tradition of William of Conches, Licet multi in arte, in Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Can. Misc. 281, fol. 3^{ra}. These are not the only commentators to use this pedagogic device: see Thurot, Extraits de divers manuscrits latins, pp. 87-89; Scaglione, 'Dante and the Theory of Sentence Structure'; and Luhtala, 'Syntax and Dialectic in Carolingian Commentaries'.

³² For example, from the beginning of Priscian Minor, XVII.1.1, BnF, MS lat. 15130, fol. 85^{va}: 'QUONIAM IN ANTE EXPOSITIS LIBRIS DE PARTIBUS ORATIONIS IN PLERISQUE APOLLONII AUCTORITATEM SUMUS SECUTI, ALIORUM QUOQUE SIVE NOSTRORUM SIVE GRAECORUM NON INTERMITTENTES NECESSARIA ET SI QUID IPSI QUOQUE NOVI POTUERUNT ADDERE. Littera sic legatur, ut QUONIAM, que est causalis coniunctio, disseratur "ita", SUMUS SECUTI AUCTORITATEM APOLLONII, id est Apollonium propter auctoritatem suam IN LIBRIS ANTE EXPOSITIS qui libri sunt de partibus orationis quoniam in eis que dictio que pars sit orationis ostenditur, et hoc IN PLERISQUE. Non enim in omnibus, sed in maiore parte, ut ipse testatur, illum imitatur, et hoc fecimus non pretermittentes immo ponentes necessaria id est utilia aliorum This might annoy a reader or an editor trying to edit a very long, literal commentary 33 — William's Priscian *Glosae* is well over one thousand pages long — but it must have been a great advantage to the students taking in William's commentary by ear, or reading it aloud, as I assume some students would have done. Again, unlike many of his contemporary grammarians, William wishes to set the *lemmata* apart graphically, making it very clear what is Priscian's choice of words and what is rephrasing. Whether prose or poetry, William makes no distinction. For example, where Boethius in the *Consolatio philosophiae*, III. metrum 9, has 'Tu cuncta superno exemplo ducis', William jumbles the word order thus: 'TU DUCIS CUNCTA SUPERNO EXEMPLO id est disponis cuncta iuxta supernum exemplum, scilicet tuam sapientiam'.³⁴

From William's glosses to the philosophical authors Boethius, Plato, and Macrobius, I shall in this chapter concentrate on the *Glosae* to Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (eight manuscripts) which are more grammatical³⁵ and rhetorical³⁶ and less technical than his glosses on Plato's *Timaeus* (eleven manu-

ab Apollonio et ideo dixit in plerisque SIVE NOSTRORUM LATINORUM SIVE GRECORUM'.

- ³³ Hopefully, an edition of William of Conches's Priscian Glosses is on its way see William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, p. xiv.
- ³⁴ William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, pp. 160–61; see also p. 165: 'Et hoc est quod ait Philosophia: *Tu deus iubens* id est faciens, iubere enim dei est facere *perfectum mundum absolvere* id est perfecte continere *perfectas partes* id est elementa'; p. 185: '*Huc omnes*. Ostenso quid summum bonum sit et in quo situm, scilicet in creatore, hortatur Philosophia pervenire ad tantum bonum in tam honesto positum. Continuatio. Et hoc est: *Huc omnes* id est ad summum bonum *venite* passibus fidei, cognitionis, dilectionis.'
- 35 William of Conches, Glosae super Boetium, ed. by Nauta, p. 300: 'Est enim hic expletiva coniunctio' (see Priscian, Institutionum grammaticarum, ed. by Hertz, III (1859), 110, l. 7 (XVII.4)). See also the debate on abstract nouns in Super Boetium (William of Conches, Glosae super Boetium, ed. by Nauta, p. 304), closely parallel with William's glosses to Priscian, Institutiones grammaticae, XVII.16 (see BnF, MS lat. 15130, fol. 92^{va}, quoted in Fredborg, 'Some Notes on the Grammar of William of Conches,' p. 29). Sometimes William points out figures of style from Donatus: 'antithesis', 'synechdoche' (William of Conches, Glosae super Boetium, ed. by Nauta, p. 13), 'effexegesis' (p. 15), 'hoc verbum "avertitur" deponens [...] passivum; hic est rethoricus color "praeoccupatio" (p. 15).
- ³⁶ William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 40: 'probat per unum attributum personae, id est convictum [*De inventione*, 1.25.35]'; p. 70: 'Est argumentum ab convictu ab illo attributo personae'; p. 82: 'per consequens negotium'; p. 84: 'Argumentum ab adiunctis negotio, id est a maiori'; p. 102: 'Ut ait in Rethoricis Tullius "similitudo [...] generat fastidium"; p. 112: 'Probat per complexionem, quod rethoricum genus est argumenti'; see also p. 227: 'probat per complexionem, illo scilicet genere argumentationis.' See also William of Conches in Priscian, *Institutionum grammaticarum*, ed. by Hertz, III (1859), 115,

scripts), and are explicitly meant to be read before the *Timaeus*: 'exponemus in *Timaeo*'.³⁷ By 'grammatical' I mean that William enjoys elucidating figures of speech and explaining classical myths, for example the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, or the judgement of Paris where Venus is the token of love and represents the *vita voluptaria*, Juno stands for the *vita activa*, and Minerva for the *vita contemplativa*.³⁸ On other occasions things go wrong, due to speculation over historical background where William is hampered by his own, or his predecessors', lack of philologico-historical insight.³⁹

Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* has been called a 'middle text' between the easiest grammatical texts, the fables and the *Disticha Catonis*, and the more difficult Virgil and Horace. ⁴⁰ This is also borne out by the teaching method used here. First of all, the teacher's tone of voice is important, with the 'lingua magistri', which indicates William's favourite pedagogical format to be not the *commentum* but the *glosa*, setting out a clear doctrine in the right order of

I. 22 (XVIII.12); BnF, MS lat. 15130, fol. 90^{ra}: 'SED QUERUNT. Errorem illorum indirecta ratiocinatione improbat, id est ostendendo inconveniens hoc utrumque sequi, quod sapientes nichil faciunt ordine nec insipientes contra ordinem. *Indirecta ratiocinatione / complexione*.' See also the gloss on Priscian, called *Note Dunelmenses*, section 5, Durham, Cath. Libr., MS C.IV.29, fol. 141^{ra} ad locum: 'Facit complexionem talem extra: aut nusquam est querenda causa ordinis aut alicubi, et ex utraque parte ostendit sequi inconveniens;' and William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 128: 'attentus, docilis, benivolus'; p. 129: 'rethoricum colorem' 'correctionem'; and p. 147: 'Tempus pars aeternitatis annui, mensurni, etc. [*De inventione*, 1.26.38]'. The most important rhetorical mark is probably William's adherence to Cicero's distinction and combination of 'sapientia' and 'eloquentia', recurring throughout *Super Boetium* (see William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, pp. 29, 206, 237, and 282).

³⁷ William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 117: 'super Platonem exponemus'; p. 298: the argument that souls are created and placed above the stars, 'ut ostendimus superius in *O qui perpetua* et ostendemus, deo annuente vitam, super Platonem'; p. 341: 'quia super Platonem de hoc multa sumus dicturi, interim taceamus'. The Macobius glosses also reference what is to be dealt with 'in Platone': see Jeauneau, 'La Lecture des auteurs classiques', p. 307, n. 2.

³⁸ William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 211.

³⁹ Historical details as they are handed down from William's predecessors are occasionally way off the mark: for example, that Socrates was put in prison and died there because he was unable to swear by the gods and believed that there was only one single God; or that the mutability of Fate can be shown by the myth of the Lydian King Croesus (known from Herodotus, *Histories*, Bk I), where the Croesus story is then conflated with another story from Herodotus (*Histories*, III.124–25) about Polycrates' daughter predicting her father's death (see William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, pp. 103–04).

⁴⁰ See Nauta, review of Black and Pomaro, *La consolazione della filosofia*, p. 321.

words.⁴¹ Indeed, William gives himself away when he allows Dame Philosophy to take on the role of the good teacher: 'Dame Philosophy follows the correct pedagogical order in teaching, first building up faith so that the audience believes the teacher, then giving the logical reasons so that the proofs are stated.'⁴²

The Boethius glosses are energetic and pedagogical, full of rational explanations, and also enlivened by William's use of similes, as when, for example, he explains what makes a tree grow:

The root is its 'mouth' through which trees and plants draw nourishment. While the sun is operating, humidity comes up from the earth along with minute atoms which enter the root and spread to the marrow and to the bark. With the heat and the humidity, these atoms form a conglomerate from which the tree then grows.⁴³

With the *Macrobius* glosses (a short and a long version),⁴⁴ and particularly the *Timaeus* glosses, we move up a teaching level, first of all in the method and substance of the text, which is explicitly said to serve all parts of philosophy (practical, theological, mathematical, and physical philosophy),⁴⁵ secondly because the *Timaeus Glosae* are twice as long as the Boethius glosses, and also because William found it necessary to incorporate things he had written in his *Philosophia mundi*, his very popular companion volume (sixty-seven manuscripts) to his glosses on the philosophers: 'If something is to be found here which is also in our *Philosophia*, I believe that I should not be criticized for that. I have done this

- ⁴¹ William of Conches, *Super Priscianum*: early version, Firenze, Bibl. Laurent., MS San Marco 310, fol. 2^{ra}: 'Glosa omnia debet exponere ac si lingua magistri uideatur docere'; late version, abrogating wrong teaching manners, BnF, MS lat. 15130, fol. 2^{ra-b}: 'nouitate uerborum uel ordine ut discipuli parum uel nichil intelligant'.
- ⁴² William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 246: 'SED QUAMVIS. Philosophia circa Boetium *ordinem recte docentis seruat*, primitus aedificando fidem ut credat, deinde subiungendo rationem ut probet' (my italics).
- ⁴³ See William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. by Nauta, p. 188: 'Radix arboris dicitur os arboris, quia per eam subintrat per quod uiuit arbor. Sed idcirco defixa est in terra, quia inde trahit arbor et herba quod uiuant hoc modo: operante calore solis ascendit humor de terra cum minutis athomis qui intrant radicem, et inde diffunditur in medullam arboris, et inde in robur, inde in corticem. Et illi athomi operante calore et humore conglomerantur, et inde crescit arbor.'
- ⁴⁴ See Jeauneau, 'La Lecture des auteurs classiques', p. 304; Jeauneau, 'Macrobe, source du platonisme chartrain'; and Jeauneau, 'Jean de Salisbury et la lecture des philosophes', p. 86, quoting John, *Metalogicon*, 1.13 and 1.22.
 - ⁴⁵ William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, Accessus, p. 11.

because I know that not everybody has the book, nor can those who have the book easily find what is necessary for a particular point of the discussion.'46

In short, William had a carefully worked out pedagogic programme, quite explicit in its comprehensiveness, and it is no surprise that his learning is so impressive that even though he is mainly known as a Platonist ('Nos Platonem diligentes')⁴⁷ and a grammarian, we find in both the *Timaeus* glosses and the *Priscian* glosses that the most quoted authors are Aristotle, Augustine, and Boethius.⁴⁸ The value William puts upon teaching goes far beyond Thierry's claim that a teacher should be 'doctus' (learned) and 'benivolus' (well disposed).⁴⁹ To William of Conches, in the *Timaeus* glosses, 'the teaching of the master is therefore the beginning of understanding,'⁵⁰ and study is seen as a privilege in life — unfortunately not available to people who are not free, poor, or living in remote regions.⁵¹ According to the late version of the *Priscian* glosses, the ideal teacher loves his students with paternal love⁵² or, in the early version, gives a student more than even his own father could: 'Melius ei esse confert quam verus pater.'⁵³

Conclusion

All three Masters had a lasting influence on John of Salisbury's views of the breadth and thoroughness of learning. Petrus Helias and Thierry emerge as the magisterial figures — comprehensive, demanding, and salvaging the best of classical school rhetoric, including Victorinus's and their contemporaries' discussions.

- ⁴⁶ William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, Prologus, pp. 5–6: 'Item si aliquid hic inveniatur quod in nostra *Philosophia* contineatur, me non inde vituperandum iudico. Tali enim ratione hoc fecimus quoniam non omnes illam habere scimus nec omnes qui habent convenienter quid huic operi necessarium fuerit inde eligere vel electum ad locum convenientem transferre.' William's *Philosophia mundi* is quoted throughout the volume, for example: §LXIV, p. 112; §LXIV, p. 116; §LXXXVII, p. 155; §XVCIII, p. 174; §CIV, p. 189; and CLXXVI, p. 322.
 - ⁴⁷ William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, §CXIX, p. 214.
 - 48 Jeauneau, 'Deux redactions des Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscian', pp. 350–51.
 - ⁴⁹ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 142, l. 77.
- ⁵⁰ William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, §CLXXII, p. 312: 'Principium ergo intellectus est magistri doctrina'.
 - ⁵¹ William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. by Jeauneau, §CXXXII, p. 242.
 - 52 Jeauneau, 'Deux redactions des Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscian', p. 347.
- ⁵³ Jeauneau, 'Deux redactions des Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscian', p. 356; see William of Conches, *Super Priscianum*, BnF, MS lat. 15130, fol. 127^{ra}: 'magistri nostri, quibus non est fas contradicere non enim meliores sumus quam patres nostri', cited in Kneepkens, 'Master Guido and his View on Government', p. 130.

On the other hand, William of Conches has left both us and John with a fine, subtle portrait of himself as an engaged person in the midst of noisy students and the great scholastic and intellectual competition out of which grew the universities.

Appendix 1: Petrus Helias on De inventione, 1.29.45

Sigla: C: Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., MS 85, sect. III (s. xii fin) O: BAV, MS lat. Ottobon. 2993 (anno 1357)

C is collated with O; all but insignificant disagreements between the two manuscripts are noted; the word order follows that of C. The orthography is that of the manuscripts except that 'u' has been regularized to 'v'.

[C fol. 92^{vb}; O fol. 36^r] Et videntur quibusdam hec esse genera sillogismorum quibus argumenta necessaria tractantur. Est autem complexio quidem secundum eos⁵⁴ sillogismus qui ab antiquis⁵⁵ 'cornutus' dicitur propter duplicem quam habet conclusionem, ut si de aliquo proponas 'aut probus est aut inprobus' et utraque⁵⁶ ad aliquod inconveniens trahas, id est ad aliquid quod adversarius pro inconvenienti⁵⁷ habeat, ut si exequendo sic dicas 'Si probus est, cur accusas?' contra eum scilicet qui accusaret eum. 'Si inprobus, cur tamen familiariter eo uteris?' contra eundem scilicet si ab eius⁵⁸ familiaritate non posset divelli.⁵⁹ Dicitur autem a dialeticis indirecta ratiocinatio.⁶⁰

Sunt etiam qui⁶¹ dicant quod complexio est species divisionis, disiuncta scilicet cuius utraque pars reprehenditur. Secundum quos nichil aliud est complexio

⁵⁴ complexio...eos] secundum eos complexio O.

⁵⁵ See Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, ed. by Migne, I.13.16 (col. 455); see also Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 149, l. 98.

 $^{^{56}}$ utraque] ad utramque partem O.

⁵⁷ *post* inconvenienti] non *add* C.

⁵⁸ eius] eis C.

⁵⁹ non posset divelli] duelli C.

⁶⁰ Peter Abelard, *Dialectica*, ed. by De Rijk, p. 447, l. 12.

⁶¹ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 149, ll. 2–3: 'Sed mihi quidem videtur quod complexio species sit divisionis, scilicet disiunctio cuius utraque pars reprehenditur.'

quam disiunctio⁶² qua undique quicquid ex duobus vel pluribus concessum sit, cogitur adversarius⁶³ ad id quod non vult ut in supraposito exemplo. Nam si concesserit probum esse, cogetur ad hoc quod non accusetur. Si vero improbum, cogetur⁶⁴ ad hoc ut eius societatem non habeat, cum tamen neutrum velit.⁶⁵

Quidam enim ausi sunt etiam complexionem, enumeracionem et simplicem conclusionem locos argumentorum⁶⁶ secundum quod sunt necessaria dicere, ut sub his attributa omnia⁶⁷ persone et negotio vellent includere. Dicebant enim quod complexio continet contraria et disparata in adiunctis negotio, quoniam inter hec omnis complexio fiat. Enumeratio quoque secundum eosdem continet genus et speciem in adiunctis, quia contentorum⁶⁸ soleat fieri⁶⁹ enumeratio, ut aliquid de continente⁷⁰ probatur. Simplex autem conclusio secundum eosdem cetera attributa continet.

Illud quoque a quibusdam dictum est quod complexio, enumeratio et simplex conclusio $loca^{71}$ sunt non^{72} argumentorum sed necessitatis eorum, $location^{73}$ ut dicerent argumenta ex attributis persone et negotio sumi, $location^{74}$ sed ex eo necessitatem contrahere quod vel /O fol. $36^{\rm v}$ / complexione $location^{75}$ tractaretur vel enumeratione vel simplici conclusione.

Sed nos Victorini sententiam preponentes quomodo hunc exposuerit locum explanabimus, ea tamen intentione⁷⁶ quod intellectum simplicem pretergressi de argumentorum generibus quedam ab eodem expositore subtilissime dicta a prin-

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62 disiunctio] iunctio C.
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⁶³ adversarius] om C.

⁶⁴ cogetur...improbum] om C.

⁶⁵ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 149, l. 3–p. 150, ll. 3–8.

⁶⁶ See the rhetorical gloss called *Note Dunelmenses*, 6 in Durham, Cath. Libr., MS C.IV.29, in Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 149, l. 2.

⁶⁷ omnia] om O.

⁶⁸ contentorum] *om* O.

⁶⁹ fieri] feri C.

⁷⁰ continente] contingente O.

⁷¹ loca] loci O.

⁷² non] *om* C.

⁷³ eorum] *om* O.

⁷⁴ sumi] sui C.

⁷⁵ complexione] compulsione O.

⁷⁶ ea...intentione] facta tamen conditione C.

cipio repetentes⁷⁷ enodabimus. Tria, inquit,⁷⁸ in confirmationibus traduntur:⁷⁹ materia, argumentum, argumentatio.⁸⁰ Et materiam, inquit, iam nobis tradidit⁸¹ id est locos argumentorum, quos attributa persone et negotio predixit. Sicut enim materia⁸² preiacet, ut ex ea aliquid faciatur,⁸³ ita quoque loci preiacent ut ex eis ducantur argumenta. Nunc ergo dicturus est de argumento ille, itaque antequam de generibus argumentorum doceat, quid considerare debeamus et conferre ut argumenta faciamus, subtilissime pretractat.

Ait enim quod omnia nomina et verba res habent suas, habent etiam qualitates, ⁸⁴ id est quasdam quas⁸⁵ intelligere dant rerum proprietates, ut si dicas 'Occidit' hoc ipsum⁸⁶ 'occidere' res quedam est. Qualitas autem eius et, que in ipsa ex vocabulo intelligitur; asperitas quedam est et immanitas. Itaque cum res /C fol. 93^{ra}/ inquit nuda est et sine respectu qualitatis sue consideratur, ⁸⁷ nichil aliud quam res est, ⁸⁸ id est nichil argumenti habet facere. Tunc autem⁸⁹ aut ex ea facere possumus argumentum, si⁹⁰ eius qualitatem inspiciamus. Quod subtillissime dictum fuisse nulla dubitatione tenetur.

Cum rerum etenim qualitates sibi conveniunt faciunt argumentum. Cum autem non conveniunt, tunc omnino argumentum non faciunt. Ut si cum posuerimus 'occidit', deinde⁹¹ ponamus 'inimicum'. Rursus 'inimicus' res est cuius rei

⁷⁷ See Victorinus, *Explanationum in rhetoricam M. Tullii Ciceronis*, ed. by Halm, p. 231, l. 38–p. 234, l. 14.

 $^{^{78}}$ inquit] inquid O.

 $^{^{79}}$ confirmationibus traduntur] confirmationibus trahuntur C, confirmatione nobis traduntur O.

 $^{^{80}}$ argumentum, argumentatio] argumentatio argumentum C, scilicet argumentum, argumentatio O.

⁸¹ tradidit] traditur C.

⁸² materia] materiam C.

⁸³ faciatur] faciat C.

⁸⁴ Victorinus, Explanationum in rhetoricam M. Tullii Ciceronis, ed. by Halm, p. 232, l. 11.

⁸⁵ quasdam quas] quosdam quos C.

⁸⁶ occidit hoc ipsum] hic occidit ipsum C.

⁸⁷ consideratur] consideratum O.

⁸⁸ See *Der neue Pauly*, ed. by Cancik and Schneider, VII: *Prol-Sar.* (2008), p. 11 on Victorinus's Neoplatonic distinction between *esse* and *sic esse*.

⁸⁹ tunc autem] lacuna 8 fere litt C.

⁹⁰ argumentum si] argumentum sed C, argumento si O.

⁹¹ occidit deinde] deinde occidit C.

qualitas asperitas quedam est atque crudelitas, quomodo eius rei que est 'occidere' qualitas est asperitas quedam et immanitas. Ideoque quoniam⁹² utriusque rei qualitas sibi convenit, factum est argumentum, id est 'occidit quia inimicus fuit'. Ita ergo cum due similes qualitates sibi fuerint coniuncte, faciunt, inquit, aliam⁹³ qualitatem, que qualitas est ut argumentum probabile esse videatur,⁹⁴ hoc est faciunt argumenti⁹⁵ probabilitatem. Itaque si dicas: 'Occidit quia⁹⁶ gladio percussit', argumentum est quoniam qualitas utriusque rei similis est. Si vero dixeris 'Occidit quia virga⁹⁷ percussit', quoniam virga non habet qualitatem ei que est occidendi similem, idcirco⁹⁸ qualitates horum in unum coniuncte⁹⁹ non faciunt argumentum. Non enim qualitates he sibi conveniunt. Semper ergo non res, sed rerum qualitates attendere debemus et conferre, ut argumenta faciamus. Et hec interim, breviter, transcursim de argumento dicta sunt, ut in quibus argumentum ponere debeat orator intelligi poterit. Nunc vero ad ea transeundum, vel que de complexione et ceteris que proposita sunt expositor idem edisserit.

Complexio, inquit, est forma dictionis posita in rationibus necessariis, que duplici latere constat, unde quicquqid fuerit electum, necesse est ut sit contrarium. ¹⁰⁰ Forma, inquit, dictionis, id est modus dicendi¹⁰¹ et tractandi argumentum rationibus necessariis, cuius latera duo appellat¹⁰² posita contra se cum diverso in eadem \dis/iuncta. Quorum utrumlibet assumatur, necesse est ut quod displicet¹⁰³ adversario consequatur. Duobus autem modis /O fol. 37^r/proponuntur secundum eundem Victorinum complexio, nunc per simplex, nunc per necessarium. ¹⁰⁴

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<sup>92</sup> quoniam] primum C.
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⁹³ aliam] illam O.

⁹⁴ videatur] videretur O.

⁹⁵ argumenti] argumentum C.

⁹⁶ quia] et C.

⁹⁷ quia virga] et virga C, quia O.

⁹⁸ idcirco] id C.

⁹⁹ in unum coniuncte] iuncte O.

¹⁰⁰ Victorinus, Explanationum in rhetoricam M. Tullii Ciceronis, ed. by Halm, p. 233, ll. 10–12.

 $^{^{\}rm 101}\,$ modus dicendi] modus discendi C, modo dicendi O.

¹⁰² appellat] appellant C.

¹⁰³ displicet] duplicet C.

¹⁰⁴ See Rhetorica ad Herennium, 11.24.32.

Appendix 2: Petrus Helias on De Inventione, 11.22.64

Sigla: C: Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., MS 85, sect. III 105 O: BAV, MS lat. Ottobon. 2993

[C fol. 97^{ra}; O fol. 50^v] Erat autem questio¹⁰⁶ hec¹⁰⁷ constitutio negocialis, quia non defuerat de hoc ius institutum,¹⁰⁸ utrum scilicet huius unius¹⁰⁹ pecunie esse deberet, vel utrum paterfamilias¹¹⁰ testamentum filio¹¹¹ scribere habet.¹¹² Illud quoque addit et ammonet¹¹³ quod in simplici¹¹⁴ constitutione plures possunt esse rationes, velut si ab heredibus secundis supponatur hec ratio: 'Non possunt esse plures unius pecunie / C fol. 97^{rb}/ dissimilibus de causis¹¹⁵ heredes', cum sit infirmatio: 'Non est una pecunia', vel ista 'Plures dissimilibus de causis unius pecunie possunt esse heredes'.¹¹⁶ Ex quibus possunt esse iudicationes diverse. Quod ex premissis¹¹⁷ manifestum est. Habet autem constitutio hec locos ex partibus iuris, ideoque de partibus iuris¹¹⁸ agendum est.

Ius ergo est ars equi et boni. Ars autem dicitur hic institutio¹¹⁹ que artat nos ad equum et bonum. Equum idem dicimus quod iustum, bonum idem quod utile

¹⁰⁵ See Alanus, BL, MS Harley 6324, fol. 32^{ra-b} on *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, II.13.19; *Etsi ea*, Venezia, Bibl. Marciana, MS lat. XI.23 [4686], fols 60^{vb}-61^{ra}. Petrus Helias's examples are not used *ad locum* in *Ista videnda* (on *De inventione*, II.21.62), translated in Ward, 'Alan (of Lille?) as Rhetor', pp. 209–10.

¹⁰⁶ questio] constitutio C.

¹⁰⁷ hec] autem add C.

¹⁰⁸ institutum] constitutum O.

¹⁰⁹ unius] *om* O.

¹¹⁰ paterfamilias] famias C.

¹¹¹ filio] filios C.

¹¹² habet] horret C.

 $^{^{113}}$ et ammonet] om O.

¹¹⁴ simplici] secundo O a c.

¹¹⁵ causis] possunt esse add C.

¹¹⁶ cum...heredes] om C.

¹¹⁷ premissis] predictis O.

¹¹⁸ ideoque de partibus iuris] om C.

¹¹⁹ institutio] constitutio C.

vel honestum. ¹²⁰ Sunt ergo in institutione ¹²¹ quedam que artant nos ad iustum vel utile vel honestum, quas nos iura vocamus. Differt autem ¹²² ius a iusticia, hec enim virtus est qua unicuique ¹²³ quod suum est distribuimus, iura vero sollempnitates sunt contractorum ut vere in venditionibus ¹²⁴ patet. Quarum sollempnitas est palmatio. ¹²⁵ Facta enim palmatione obligantur persone ¹²⁶ venditorum et emptorum simul, ¹²⁷ ut nec ad vendicionem illi nec ab emptione huic ¹²⁸ liceat manum retrahere. In manuum enim operatio intellegitur. Palmatio itaque illud designat, ut quod ab homine verbo dicitur, illud et opere impleatur et ¹²⁹ exequatur. Illud quoque continet et designat / O fol. 51^r / palmatio, quod res vendita a potestate venditoris transit in ¹³⁰ potestatem emptoris, et e converso precium rei empte ab emptoris potestate transit in venditoris ¹³¹ potestatem. Quod cum uterque exequatur, alter alterius iuris ¹³² executione exequitur.

Ius itaque aliud¹³³ positivum, aliud naturale est. Positivum est illud quod ab hominibus iustum esse constitutum est, ut in¹³⁴ palmatione et consimilibus manifestum est. Naturale autem¹³⁵ est quod sola confirmat natura, id est vis quedam naturaliter insita. Ius autem naturale in matrimonio consistit et in ceteris similibus, sicut in avibus¹³⁶ patet. Cum enim par pari naturaliter¹³⁷ velit coniungi, cuius

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<sup>120</sup> Thierry of Chartres, The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries, ed. by Fredborg, p. 275, ll. 85–86.
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¹²¹ institutione] constitutione C.

¹²² post autem] add quod C.

¹²³ unicuique] id *add* O.

¹²⁴ venditionibus] vendicationibus C.

¹²⁵ palmatio] facta add C.

¹²⁶ obligantur persone] obligatur sibi C.

¹²⁷ simul] *om* O.

¹²⁸ illi...huic] illa...hec O.

¹²⁹ impleatur et] om O.

¹³⁰ in] et C.

 $^{^{\}rm 131}$ ab emptoris potestatem transit in venditoris] ad emptoris C.

 $^{^{132}}$ iuris] bis C.

¹³³ aliud] alium C.

¹³⁴ post in] lectio incerta C.

¹³⁵ autem] *om* O.

¹³⁶ avibus] manibus C.

¹³⁷ naturaliter] om O.

quidem coniunctionis est solempnitas quedam quod a rostro alterius¹³⁸ rostrum immiscet, unde et matrimonium ad naturale ius iudicatum est pertinere.¹³⁹

Positivum vero ius aliud est ius gencium, aliud ius civile. ¹⁴⁰ Ius gentium ¹⁴¹ est quod omnibus gentibus commune est, ut clarigatio. Clarigare namque dicebatur antiquitus quod nos hodie diffidare vel difidiciare, ¹⁴² vel secundum quosdam defestucare ¹⁴³ satis vulgariter dicimus. Dicebatur autem clarigatio eo ¹⁴⁴ quod voce clara ageretur. ¹⁴⁵ Nec enim civibus licitum erat cives alios ¹⁴⁶ invadere nisi sacerdotes Pheciales dicti esse ¹⁴⁷ quod federibus ¹⁴⁸ preerant hastam prius in terram hostium ¹⁴⁹ iacerent voce clara verba quedam dicentes sollempnitatis. Hec autem erat quedam belli contrahendi solemnitas. ¹⁵⁰ Hec autem erat quedam belli contrahendi solemnitas. ¹⁵¹ Nec nobis hodie adhuc alium licet ¹⁵² invadere nisi primo eum ¹⁵³ diffidaverimus, alioquin prodicionis appellaretur nomine. Hoc itaque ius omnibus gentibus ¹⁵⁴ commune est, ideoque ius gencium merito ¹⁵⁵ dicendum est.

Ius vero civile secundum civitates¹⁵⁶ singulas pro situ loci et hominum qualitate variatur, unde ius Thebanorum dicitur, similiter ius Atheniensium, vel ius Romanorum. Eodemque modo secundum alias civitates et alias

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138 rostro alterius] altero rostro O.

139 unde .. pertinere] om O.

140 Thierry of Chartres, The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries, ed. by Fredborg, p. 275, l. 91.

141 gentium] gencium O.

142 hodie...difidiciare] diffida C.

143 defestucare] afestucare O.

144 eo] om O.

145 Servius, Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii, ed. by Thilo and Hagen, II, 313 (Ad Ver. A.IX.52).

146 alios] iustum add O.

147 esse] eo O.

148 federibus] phederibus C.

149 prius in terram] lacuna + pannum C

150 Hec...solemnitas] om C.
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151 Hec...solemnitas] om C.

153 primo eum] eum prius O.

156 civitates] civitas C.

152 adhuc alium licet] licet aliquem O.

omnibus gentibus] gentibus cunctis O.ius gencium merito] merito gencium O.

facienda est variatio nominum. Illud tamen videndum est quod positivum ius¹⁵⁷ a naturali descendit. Quoniam autem et in bruto naturaliter¹⁵⁸ insitum est illatam¹⁵⁹ sibi ulciscere iniuriam, constituerunt et homines iura quedam prepositiva¹⁶⁰ ad vindictam pertinencia ut suspendium et¹⁶¹ membrorum mutilatio et huiusmodi alia.

Illud tamen videndum est¹⁶² quod quamvis ius a iusticia differat, ut ante dictum est, tamen de iure dicturus¹⁶³ indifferenter agit de iusticia, quoniam ex ea iuris potest haberi doctrina. Iustitiam itaque naturalem dividit in sex partes,¹⁶⁴ religionem, pietatem, gratiam, vindicacionem, observanciam, veritatem.¹⁶⁵

Religionem¹⁶⁶ in deorum cultura dicit¹⁶⁷ consistere, pietatem in officii erga patriam et parentes constitutione.¹⁶⁸ Gratiam in observancia memorie et remunerationis officiorum sibi scilicet collatorum et honoris et amicitiarum. Ingratus enim est qui¹⁶⁹ non omnia hec observat.¹⁷⁰ Vindicationem ponit in propulsanda vi et¹⁷¹ contumelia vel ulciscenda — propulsanda intellige antequam inferatur, ulciscenda postquam infertur.¹⁷² Observanciam ponit in quadam antecedentium sapientia vel honore vel aliqua <cum> dignitate reverencia. Veritatem vero ponit in opera confirmandi quod non aliter quam factum sit vel fiat¹⁷³ vel futurum sit.

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157 post ius] est del C.
158 et...naturaliter] ei naturali animali etiam O.
<sup>159</sup> illatam] illata C.
160 prepositiva] positiva O.
161 et] om O.
<sup>162</sup> est] om C.
163 dicturus] acturus O.
164 partes] scilicet add O.
<sup>165</sup> De inventione, 11.22.65.
166 religionem] autem add O.
167 dicit] dicitur O.
168 constitutione] conservatione O.
169 qui] quod C.
170 observat] observant C.
171 vi et] est C.
172 ulciscenda...infertur] om O.
173 fiat] factum sit O.
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Illud quoque attendendum est¹⁷⁴ quod ius consuetudinarium et legale videtur¹⁷⁵ pro iure positivo posuisse. Dicamus¹⁷⁶ ergo quod ius positivum aliud est legale, aliud consuetudinarium. Huius autem¹⁷⁷ due sunt species, aliud enim¹⁷⁸ quod iustum ideo putatur quod veteres id iustum esse¹⁷⁹ approbaverunt / O fol. 51^v/, ut assurgere maioribus et si quid est simile, aliud vero quod iustum habetur ideo quod usu consuetudinario sine ulla vetustatis consideratione tenetur. Consuetudinariam itaque iustitiam aut facit vetustas aut presentis temporis usus. Ius vero consuetudinarium ex usu presentis¹⁸⁰ temporis dividitur in pactum, par, iudicatum.¹⁸¹ Pactum est, quod ex condicto¹⁸² homines inter se constituunt, de quo habetur huiusmodi proverbium 'Pactum legem¹⁸³ superat.¹⁸⁴ Sive¹⁸⁵ mavis¹⁸⁶ dicere: 'Vincit¹⁸⁷ convencio legem.' Par est¹⁸⁸ quod inter omnes equabile¹⁸⁹ est ut: 'Ne feceris alii quod tibi non vis fieri.' Non autem tenetur hoc¹⁹⁰ propter auctoritatem veterum, sed ex presenti quadam vivendi condicione,¹⁹¹ quam habent inter se homines. Iudicatum vero dicitur quod cum diu fuisset ambiguum, nunc demum¹⁹² de ex alicuius vel aliquorum¹⁹³ deliberatione in presenti tempore est

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174 attendendum est ] addendum C.
<sup>175</sup> videtur] inde O.
176 dicamus] dicas O.
<sup>177</sup> autem] om O.
178 enim] om O.
<sup>179</sup> esse] om O.
<sup>180</sup> presentis...presentis] presens...presens O.
<sup>181</sup> dividitur...iudicatum] om C.
<sup>182</sup> condicto] dicto O.
<sup>183</sup> legem] lege C.
<sup>184</sup> Thierry of Chartres, The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries, ed. by Fredborg, p. 276, l. 4.
<sup>185</sup> sive] si ut C.
186 mavis] maius O.
<sup>187</sup> vincit] iuvat C.
188 par est] pacem C.
189 omnes equabile] homines + lacuna 6 fere litt C
190 hoc] hic C.
<sup>191</sup> vivendi condicione] innuendi conducere C.
<sup>192</sup> nunc demum] est nunc deinde C.
<sup>193</sup> aliquorum] aliqua C.
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diffinitum.¹⁹⁴ Hec autem non¹⁹⁵ ad vetustatem pertinet sed ad novam presentis¹⁹⁶ temporis consuetudinem. Illud quoque videndum est¹⁹⁷ quod iustitia naturalis in attributis persone sub natura continetur. Ius consuetudinarium / C fol. 97va/ et legale sub consequentibus negotium continentur. Ad auctoritatem enim utencium consuetudine vel lege videtur pertinere. Et illud quoque¹⁹⁸ dicendum est¹⁹⁹ quod iura naturalia non multum versatur in causis, nisi vel similitudinis causa inducantur vel amplificationis.²⁰⁰

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<sup>194</sup> diffinitum] diffinitam C.
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¹⁹⁵ non] *om* C.

¹⁹⁶ presentis] presens O.

¹⁹⁷ videndum est] bis C.

¹⁹⁸ quoque] etiam C.

¹⁹⁹ est] om O.

²⁰⁰ See Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 187–88.

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ACCESSUS TO CLASSICAL POETS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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Por the study of textbooks in the medieval classroom, the teachers used commentaries, if possible, the introductions of which generally gave an overview of what was considered necessary to know before tackling the explanation of a text. From the late eleventh century, independent introductions, the so-called *accessus*, became very common. They were often added in the margins or on blank spaces in older manuscripts in order to bring them up to date. Sometimes they were more or less identical with the introductions to the commentaries, unless the contrary was the case. In several manuscripts, transcribed towards the end of the twelfth century in southern Germany and northern Italy, we even find comprehensive collections of such *accessus*, which constitute veritable manuals of literary history and criticism. The *Dialogus super auctores* of Conrad of Hirsau has a similar function.

Often these *accessus* or introductions only give information, more or less at random, about biography, history, mythology, or literary questions, but a large number are more elaborate and contain at the beginning a list of items to be treated, usually with an indication of their number. Sometimes the *accessus* are

¹ The *accessus* in the twelfth century have been studied in particular by Hunt, 'The Introductions to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century'.

² The German collections have been published in *Accessus ad auctores*, ed. by Huygens, pp. 19–54. The Italian collections, which are still unpublished, are extant in two manuscripts: Piacenza, Arch. Capit., Cassetta C. 48, fr. 4 and Piacenza, Arch. Capit., Cassetta C. 48, fr. 51.

³ The text has been published by *Accessus ad auctores*, ed. by Huygens, pp. 71–131, and republished with an Italian translation and a commentary in Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogo sugli autori*, ed. by Marchionni.

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arranged according to these items, but without a list of them at the beginning. Until the eleventh century, these items were called *periochae* (systematic questions) or *circumstantiae* (relevant particulars), but later a vague neuter plural was generally employed, for example, 'Haec requirenda sunt' (these things must be investigated) or 'haec inquiruntur' (these things are investigated). Even if the choice and the number of items vary considerably, sometimes in the same manuscript, it is often emphasized that such a list can be applied everywhere: 'in initio uniuscuiusque libri' (at the beginning of any book), 'sicut in aliis auctoribus' (as in the other authors), 'sicut in ceteris librorum principiis' (as at the other beginnings of books), and so on.

As a matter of fact, *accessus* are found to all types of texts used at the different teaching levels: to the Bible, to treatises of philosophy or law, to manuals of the liberal arts, and, last but not least, to the profane or Christian literary works that the *grammaticus* explained to his students as an important part of the study of the trivium. In order not to complicate things too much in a short chapter, I shall keep to the works of the seven major classical poets: Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Persius, and Ovid. This gives us about sixty *accessus*, independent or as introductions to commentaries, with lists at the beginning, and nearly two hundred without. Most of them have not yet been published.

For these poetic works, many lives of their authors and some texts on metrical or historical questions connected with them have been transmitted from antiquity or late antiquity, but we only have a few ancient introductions in the proper sense of the word, and most of them are related to Virgil.⁴ The oldest one is the introduction to the *Eclogues* by Aelius Donatus, extant in full in six manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh century, and partially in two manuscripts from the twelfth century.⁵ Having first dealt with the life of the poet, Donatus divides his six *periochae* into two groups of three. The first is called 'ante opus' (before the work) and comprises the title, the cause, and the intention, while the second is called 'in ipso opere' (in the work itself) and includes the number of books, their order, and the explanation itself. This subtle distinction between 'ante opus' and 'in ipso opere' is not retained by Servius in the introduction to his commentary on the *Aeneid*. Including the life of the poet and replacing 'causa' (cause) with 'qualitas' (quality), he obtains seven *periochae*, which he presents in a more simplified list:

⁴ All the important texts relating to Virgil have been published, at least in part, with an English translation, in the monumental *The Virgilian Tradition*, ed. by Ziolkowski and Putnam.

⁵ Vitae Vergilianae, ed. by Brummer, p. 11.

In expounding authors these items are to be considered: the life of the poet, the title of the work, the quality of the poem, the intention of the writer, the number of books, the order of the books, and the explanation.⁶

Servius also wrote introductions to the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, but the first has no list at the beginning, and the second has a looser structure.

Besides this philological list, there were also other lists for other kinds of texts, principally the rhetorical and the philosophical ones.⁷ The rhetorical list is found, for example, in the commentary by Marius Victorinus on Cicero's De inventione.8 It also comprises seven periochae, or rather circumstantiae, in order to use the established term, summed up by the following interrogative pronouns or adverbs: 'quis, quid, cur, ubi, quando, quemadmodum, quibus adminiculis' (who, what, why, where, when, how, by which skills). The list is found in four of the early periochae to Virgil: the Periochae Vaticanae from the late ninth century, the Periochae Bernenses I from the first half of the tenth century, the Vita Gudiana from the late tenth century, and the Periochae Tegernseenses from the end of the eleventh century.9 In the first three, it is attributed explicitly to Johannes Scotus Eriugena (d. c. 877) who may have introduced it into the exegesis of Virgil.¹⁰ There is, however, a slight modification since 'quibus adminiculis' has been replaced by 'quibus facultatibus' in the Vita Gudiana, with almost the same sense, and by 'unde' (whence) in the three other texts. In the twelfth century, the list was referred to or used in several accessus, but instead of 'quibus facultatibus' or 'unde' at the end, 'quibus auxiliis' (with the help of whom) was now placed in the middle in order to obtain a perfect hexameter, easy to remember: 'quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando.'

A shortened version of the list comprises basically only three items: 'locus, tempus, persona' (place, time, person), which are related to the life of the author

⁶ 'In exponendis auctoribus haec consideranda sunt: poetae uita, titulus operis, qualitas carminis, scribentis intentio, numerus librorum, ordo librorum, explanatio.' Servius, *Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. by Thilo and Hagen, I, 1. All translations from the Latin are mine.

⁷ I use the terminology of Klopsch, *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren*, pp. 48–50. The philological list corresponds to Hunt's type B and the philosophical list to his type C; see Hunt, 'The Introductions to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century', pp. 93–97.

⁸ Victorinus, *Explanationes in Ciceronis rhetoricam*, ed. by Ippolito, p. 106.

⁹ The Virgilian Tradition, ed. by Ziolkowski and Putnam, pp. 246–47, 236–37, 243, and 244.

¹⁰ On the role of Eriugena, see, for example, Frakes, 'Remigius of Auxerre, Eriugena, and the Greco-Latin Circumstantiae-Formula'.

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rather than to the text itself,¹¹ but in the *Vita Noricensis I* from the second half of the ninth century,¹² and in a part of the manuscripts of the *accessus* to the *Disticha Catonis* by Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), the 'causa scribendi' (reason for writing) has been added as a kind of afterthought. In the case of Remigius, however, the three items by themselves are found in most of the manuscripts, and the text of the *accessus* is the same,¹³ so the question is probably whether the 'causa scribendi' should be promoted to an independent item or not.

The philosophical list is found, with its Greek equivalents, in the introduction of Boethius to Porphyry's *Isagoge*. It comprises only six *periochae*: 'The intention, the utility, the order, the genuineness, the title, and the part of philosophy to which the work pertains.' The list is not applied directly to literary texts, but some of the items contained came to play an important part in the *accessus* of the twelfth century.

In the early Middle Ages, the commentaries of Servius were by far the most widespread for literary texts and they are extant in a large number of manuscripts, especially from the ninth and tenth centuries. Nevertheless, although commentators often refer to Servius, his list in its original form is used only as a rare exception in the *accessus* of the twelfth century for other texts than the *Aeneid*.

In his commentary on the *Ecloga Theoduli*, Bernard, master of the cathedral school of Utrecht in the late eleventh century, begins his long introduction with a detailed account of the Servian list in order not to appear ignorant. At the end of this account, he even draws attention to other possible items which it could be worth while to consider, and he sums up with the rhetorical list, although the two lists are far from coinciding. After all these efforts he declares, however, that this was the way in which the ancients proceeded, whereas the moderns, who are more discerning since they are later in time, can be satisfied with just three items: the subject matter, the intention, and the part of philosophy.¹⁵

Similar declarations are found in many other *accessus* of the twelfth century, most of which are certainly influenced directly or indirectly by Bernard.

¹¹ This biographical list corresponds to the type A in Hunt, 'The Introductions to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century, p. 94.

¹² The Virgilian Tradition, ed. by Ziolkowski and Putnam, p. 278.

 $^{^{13}}$ 'Scripsit hunc librum ad filium suum insinuans ei rationem bene uiuendi'; see, for example, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1560, fol. $137^{\rm r}$.

¹⁴ 'Intentio, utilitas, ordo, si eius cuius esse opus dicitur, germanus propriusque liber est, inscriptio, ad quem partem philosophiae ducatur intentio', Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta*, ed. by Schepps and Brandt, pp. 4–5.

¹⁵ Accessus ad auctores, ed. by Huygens, pp. 63-69.

The oldest example seems to be an introduction to a commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, commonly attributed to Manegold of Lautenbach and found in a manuscript from the early twelfth century, where we read:

Although many items can be considered at the beginning of any book, the moderns, who can rejoice in a certain brevity, have decided that principally three only should be relevant: the subject matter, the intention, and the part of philosophy. 16

In the *Dialogus super auctores* by Conrad of Hirsau, the master also summarizes for his pupil the point of view of Bernard, however adding utility to the list, called here the 'finalis causa'.¹⁷

This reaction against the prolixity of the ancients probably reflects the growing consciousness of progress, which also manifests itself in the famous sayings of Bernard of Chartres, quoted by John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon*, about the moderns being dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants.¹⁸ But it also happens that a more pessimistic explication is advanced, as is clearly shown in an *accessus* to Juvenal, where we read:

Our ancients, whose natural capacities were more vigorous when it came to undertaking labour, used to consider seven items. As to us, whose capacities decline day by day in a world going from bad to worse, we only ask for four items, that is the subject matter, the intention, the part of philosophy, and the utility.¹⁹

Whether this reduction is due to pedagogical progress or to a general decadence of the time, lists of three or four items become dominant in the twelfth century, being found in more than the half the extant texts.

Hoping not to appear too old-fashioned, teachers might also pretend to reduce the length of their lists. In an *accessus* to the *Aeneid*, for example, the author begins by declaring: 'Although Servius asks for seven items, four will do quite

^{16 &#}x27;Cum multa possint inquiri in capite uniuscuiusque libri, moderni, quadam gaudentes breuitate, tria principaliter inquirenda statuere, id est materiam, intentionem et cui parti philosophie supponatur.' München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS clm 4610, fol. 61°.

¹⁷ Accessus ad auctores, ed. by Huygens, p. 78.

¹⁸ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, p. 116: 'Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora uidere, non utique proprii uisus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subuehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.'

¹⁹ 'Nostri antiqui, quorum ingenia erant ualenciora ad laborem paciendum, .VII. in principiis librorum requirere solebant. Nos autem, quorum mundo cotidie eunte ad detrimentum ingenia debilitantur, .IIII. requiramus, scilicet materiam, intencionem, cui parti philosophie subponitur, finalem causam.' Praha, Archiv prazkého hradu, L.LVI (1301), fol. 36^{r-v}.

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well, namely who, what, why, and how.'20 But while 'quis' (who) corresponds only to the life, 'quid' (what) is subdivided into 'materia' (subject matter) and 'titulus' (title); 'cur' (why) into 'causa' (cause), 'intentio' (intention), and 'finis' (purpose); and 'quomodo' (how) into 'metrum' (metre), 'sermo' (discourse), 'stilus' (style), 'ordo' (order), and 'modus' (mode), so that he attains in fact eleven items, beating all records. In spite of this trend, long lists with six, seven, or even eight items were still current among old-fashioned teachers. Taking all together, the ten most frequent items in the twelfth century were the following, listed here in order of decreasing frequency: subject matter, intention, utility, part of philosophy, title, life, cause, quality, number, and order. Most of these items were inherited from the philological list, but there are four newcomers. Thus utility and the part of philosophy are both found in the philosophical list of Boethius, to whom an *accessus* to Persius explicitly refers: 'Testante Boethio'.21 Bernard of Utrecht, however, derives utility from the *De differentiis topicis* of the same author, and the part of philosophy from Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*.22

The subject matter and the cause seem to come rather from the rhetorical list. As a matter of fact, in some of the early periochae to Virgil, the material is described under 'unde' (whence), but an accessus to the Achilleid of Statius, following the rhetorical list, derives it from 'quid' (what), which is usually connected with the title only: 'Under "what", the material of the work is investigated'. The 'causa' (cause) already figured in Donatus's introduction to the *Ecloques*, where it had two aspects: 'the cause is usually investigated in two ways, according to the origin of the poem and the desire of the writer'; 24 but in the following passage, he treats the first part almost exclusively. The 'cur' (why) of the rhetorical list seems to have given rise to two kinds of answers. In the Vita Gudiana and the Periochae Vaticanae it denotes rather the intention, lacking in the list, whereas the Periochae Tegernseenses, with a 'quia' (because), gives more directly the reason why Virgil has composed his poem. The accessus to the Achilleid quoted above retains both functions: 'Under "why" is understood the intention and the reason why he has done it' ('Per cur intelligitur intentio et causa quare fecisset'). The term 'causa scribendi' (reason for writing), in the sense which became current in the twelfth

 $^{^{20}}$ 'In Eneade, licet Seruius VII inquirat, quattuor tamen sufficiunt: quis, quid, cur, quomodo.' Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibl., MS 2241, fol. $1^{\rm r}$.

²¹ BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1401, fol. 82^r.

²² Accessus ad auctores, ed. by Huygens, pp. 66-67.

²³ 'Per quid materia operis inquiritur'. Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniv., MS Gronov. 143, fol. 1.

²⁴ 'Causa dupliciter inspici solet, ab origine carminis et a uoluntate scribentis.' *Vitae Vergilianae*, ed. by Brummer, p. 12.

century, seems to occur for the first time, at least in the classical field, in the *Vita Noricensis I* and in a part of the manuscripts of the *accessus* to the *Disticha Catonis* by Remigius of Auxerre.

The 'materia' (subject matter) is sometimes explained by the etymology 'mater rei' (mother of the thing), and may be contained already in the title, for example, 'We are introduced to the subject matter of this work by the title which says: Here begins Horace's Art of Poetry, as if he says: The poets are my subject matter'. It indicates the material in a succinct way, often with a few words only, for example, 'The subject matter of this book is said to be Achilles' or 'Virgil's subject matter is Aeneas and his fellows.' 26

The 'intentio' (intention) is closely connected with the subject matter because they cannot exist without each other. Often there are two or more intentions, as Servius had already observed with regard to the *Aeneid*: 'Virgil's intention is the following: to imitate Homer and to praise Augustus through his ancestors.'²⁷ Sometimes the commentators distinguish an 'intentio principalis' (a principal intention) and an 'intentio secundaria' (a secondary intention), and sometimes they disagree, ignoring exactly what the author had in mind when he wrote his poem. In several *accessus* to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, there are up to four or five intentions, separated usually by the treatment of other items, which is due to the fact that they have been taken from different sources without any attempt to form a synthesis.

The utility and part of philosophy became extremely popular in the twelfth century, probably because, in part at least, they contributed greatly to the justification of the use of classical texts in the schools. The utility springs from the intention to such a degree that the two words are sometimes taken almost as synonyms, and it is difficult to describe them with different wordings, although the first should give the point of view of the reader and the second that of the author. The utility is often called 'finis' or 'causa finalis' and it is of course great or very great, since 'after having read through this book' ('perlecto hoc libro'), the reader has gained a good knowledge of this or that (most often of how to behave), but also of more specific things, such as how to avoid civil wars, having read Lucan's *Bellum civile*, or how to become a good farmer, due to Virgil's *Georgics*.

²⁵ 'Huius operis materiam titulus nobis insinuat qui dicit Horacii de arte poetica incipit, quasi dicit: Poete sunt mea materia.' Melk, Stiftsbibl., MS 1545, p. 118.

²⁶ 'Materia huius libri dicitur esse Achilles'; 'Materia Virgilii est Eneas et socii eius'. BL, MS Harley 2643, fol. 1^r.

²⁷ 'Intentio Vergilii haec est: Homerum imitari et Augustum laudare a parentibus.' Servius, *Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. by Thilo and Hagen, 1, 4.

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The 'pars philosophiae' (part of philosophy) is more surprising, but for almost all the works of the major poets, the commentators dealing with this item repeat invariably and mechanically: 'it pertains to ethics' ('ethicae supponitur'), usually with a short justification, such as 'because it deals with morals' ('quia de moribus agitur'), and sometimes with a more detailed account of virtues or the divisions of philosophy. It was, of course, difficult to deny that Ovid's *Fasti* and Virgil's *Georgics* had some connections to physics, and Horace's *Ars poetica* to logic, but in many of these *accessus*, the commentators nevertheless agree in considering ethics as the principal aspect.

Although the titles of the poems in the manuscripts are on average lacking in more than a third of the instances, the 'titulus' is studied very thoroughly in the *accessus*, since it illuminates the work just as the world is illuminated by 'Titan' (the sun), of which the word is considered to be a diminutive.²⁸ It also offers an occasion for explaining the names of the author with all the necessary etymologies, and for discussing the different types of titles, which may derive from the 'locus' (place), 'persona' (character), 'actus personae' (acts of the character), or 'materia' (subject matter). The life of the poet is most often an independent text, but particularly in the long lists, influenced by the tradition, it may also figure as an item, usually at the beginning.

The 'causa' (cause) is often treated in the life of the poet, but it is also considered important enough to have its own item. The causes are of course manifold: the poet may satisfy the demand of somebody, or he writes in order to obtain an advantage, or because of an experience — most often negative — that he or others have had. More concretely, an *accessus* to the *Achilleid* tells us that Statius has begun his poem because the treatment of the subject by Homer was rather lacunary and needed to be completed.²⁹

The 'qualitas' (quality) is rather complicated. In his introduction to the *Aeneid*, Servius had treated four points under this *periocha* without always using a coherent terminology: a) the 'metrum' (metre), which is heroic; b) the 'actus', which specifies who is speaking in the work; c) the genre, which is heroic because the work is made up of divine and human characters, combining true and fictitious things; and d) the 'genera dicendi', the levels of style.³⁰ In the twelfth century, the metre and the genre are usually taken together, and there is a tendency to make a

²⁸ The etymology and comparison were most likely brought to vogue by Bernard of Utrecht; see *Accessus ad auctores*, ed. by Huygens, pp. 60–61.

²⁹ Oxford, Lincoln Coll., MS Lat. 27, fol. 62^{r-v}.

³⁰ Servius, *Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. by Thilo and Hagen, 1, 4.

selection according to the nature of the actual work, or to divide the quality into sub-items which are treated independently with their own designations.

Most of the commentators thought little of the number of books and their order. The number is usually treated in connection with the title, where it is stated that it is right that the first book is called the first, because there are two or three or more. The order is only really interesting for a few texts, as Virgil's *Aeneid*, even if much can be said about the 'ordo naturalis' ('natural order') and the 'ordo artificialis' (artificial order). Thus the author of an *accessus* to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is not quite wrong when he declares that the number and order are evident even without saying a word about them ('nobis tacentibus').³¹

Without being mentioned among the items in any list, most of the *accessus* and introductions contain at the end an account of the prologue as a sort of transition to the glosses or the commentary. Here it is pointed out that it has three functions: to render the readers or the listeners docile, attentive, and favourable ('dociles', 'attentos', 'beniuolos'; see *De inventione*, I.15.20 and *Ad Herennium*, I.4.6) and that it consists of three parts: 'propositio', 'inuocatio', and 'narratio' (announcement, invocation, and narration), the beginnings of which are usually specified with quotations from the text. If there is no prologue, as is the case with Horace's *Odes* or Juvenal's *Satires*, the first poem is promoted to a 'quasi prologus', which is explained, somehow or other, in the same way.

Medieval teachers were generally keen on authority, referring constantly and respectfully at the beginning of their texts to Servius, the ancients, 'doctissimi doctores' (most learned doctors), 'magistri' (masters), or at least to 'quidam' (somebody), who had told them what to put in their *accessus* — even if these authorities are far from agreeing, and even if very different lists can be found in the same manuscript or the same collection of *accessus*. Sometimes, however, they do not quite understand the utility of all these questions they are obliged to treat. In two *accessus* to Lucan, which have respectively five and six items, the authors declare in unison that except for the intention or, in the second text, except for the subject matter and the intention, all the others are of no use. Nevertheless they will treat them briefly one by one.³² In an *accessus* to the *Odes* of Horace, the author begins by referring to the seven items of the ancients, but he eliminates at once the life (which is of no use if the poet only instructs those he has to instruct), then the title that everybody knows before approaching the book, and finally the

 $^{^{31}\,}$ Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuß. Kulturbes, MS lat. qu. 540, fol. $10^{\rm r}.$

³² Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuß. Kulturbes., MS lat. fol. 34, fol. 1^r, and Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibl., MS XI.580, fol. 2^r.

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number and order, which are quite superfluous. The only item that finds favour in his eyes is the intention, which is developed at great length.³³

It is rare that the question is raised whether the 'pars philosophiae' (part of philosophy) is relevant for the understanding of the work, and I have only encountered two examples. The first is the well-known introduction to a commentary on Juvenal, commonly attributed to the school of William of Conches. Here we find a discussion of the conflicting opinions of Bernard of Chartres, who thought that the question should not be raised at all, and of William of Conches, who asserted that all authors pertain to philosophy because of the subject matter of which they treat. The sense of this rather long passage is far from evident. Alistair J. Minnis has suggested that we see here an opposition between 'actores', who are ordinary writers, and 'auctores', who also have an authority ('auctoritas'), so that the distinction implies a value judgement. As a matter of fact, in the only copy we have of this part of the commentary, the forms are distributed according to this interpretation, but it is a distinction that is liable to be lost if a scribe does not understand the subtlety of the argumentation.

The second example is found in an *accessus* to Horace's *Odes*, where the author declares:

If we consider that this poem has been written in order to give delight, we can hardly say that it pertains to a part of philosophy. Boethius has clearly seen that when he says that it is in the philosophical books that we shall look for the part of philosophy. But if we consider that the poem also sometimes represses vices and exalts virtues, it teaches us something about morals and can thus be said to pertain to ethics because of this knowledge.³⁷

This is perhaps not very profound, but I think the author has a point.

³³ Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, MS 1845, fol. 6^v.

³⁴ This has been published by Löfsted, Vier Juvenal-Kommentare aus dem 12. Jh., p. 217.

³⁵ Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 25–26.

³⁶ BnF, MS lat. 2904, p. 221.

³⁷ 'Si consulimus quod causa delectandi liber iste factus fuit, nulli recte philosophie parti debet supponi. Quod bene Boetius preuidit dum dixit [*In Porphyrium commentaria prima*, I.1]: Querendum est in philosophicis libris cui parti philosophie liber debeat supponi. Si uero consulimus quod etiam quandoque uitia reprimit, uirtutes attollit, quodammodo de moribus nos instruit et, mediante scientia, morali philosophie potest supponi. Oxford, Magdalen Coll., MS Lat. 15, fol. 1^r. The text has been published by Friis-Jensen, 'Horatius liricus et ethicus', p. 112.

To return to the classroom: it is easy to imagine the teacher delivering his well-prepared speech to the gaping students, who wonder if it is really necessary to know all these odd things before expounding the text, and who are relieved when they see that they have to do with a modern teacher who is up to date with the latest pedagogical novelties.

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WHAT GOES WITH GEOFFREY OF VINSAUF? CODICOLOGICAL CLUES TO PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES IN ENGLAND, c. 1225 – c. 1470

Martin Camargo

ritten in the early thirteenth century and preserved in over two hundred manuscript copies, Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* was far and away the most widely circulated and influential of the 'preceptive grammars' that helped medieval students master the general techniques for composing Latin verse and prose. As Marjorie Curry Woods has demonstrated in a series of important studies, its success was due in no small part to its versatility. Like its chief model, Horace's *Ars poetica*, the *Poetria nova* was at once a textbook on the art of poetry and a masterful example of poetic practice, combining easily memorized precepts with readily imitated and excerpted illustrations in a relatively compact 2121 hexameter lines.³

The 'Poetria nova' also improved on Horace's 'Poetria vetus' in important ways. For example, like its other classical forebear, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,

¹ James J. Murphy coined the term 'preceptive grammar' to describe the subject of the text-books he calls 'artes poetriae': see Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 135–93. Since these textbooks cover prose as well as poetry, I will follow Douglas Kelly in calling them 'arts of poetry and prose' (see n. 11 below).

² See especially Woods, 'A Medieval Rhetoric Goes to School'; Woods, 'Some Techniques of Teaching Rhetorical Poetics'; Woods, 'Using the *Poetria nova* to Teach *Dictamen*'; and Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*.

³ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ed. by Faral. Faral repeats '520' in the numbering (p. 213), so the final line count in his edition is short by five lines. I have nonetheless retained the edition's line numbers in citing the *Poetria nova* (hereafter *PN*).

the *Poetria nova* treated all five canons of rhetoric.⁴ Not only was it more comprehensive than Horace's text, but it was more immediately tailored to the practical requirements of a medieval course in Latin composition. Its full treatment of the figures of speech and thought and the inventional techniques of amplification, abbreviation, conversion, and determination were especially rich sources for medieval teachers.

More than most medieval arts of poetry and prose, the *Poetria nova* provides occasional glimpses of the way its doctrine might have translated into classroom practice. For example, in his treatment of apostrophe, Geoffrey describes the intonation and gestures students should employ in classroom performances of composition exercises (PN, ll. 431-60). Even richer sources of pedagogical insight are the commentaries and glosses that accompany many copies of the Poetria nova. Drawing on such commentaries, Woods has demonstrated that in Central Europe the *Poetria nova* was typically presented to grammar-school boys as a poem to be analysed and imitated, but to older university students as a treatise on rhetorical theory.⁶ This chapter will investigate a third, less-studied body of evidence regarding medieval writing pedagogy: the makeup of the individual manuscripts that contain copies of the Poetria nova. The date, provenance, and ownership, and especially the other contents of such manuscripts, can help us answer questions about the sorts of teachers who used the Poetria nova, the techniques they employed to bring it to life in the classroom, the kinds of students their courses attracted, the levels and the venues in which the teaching occurred, and the practical ends the teaching was understood to serve.

I have restricted this sketch to manuscripts produced in England, not only because the English tradition yields a sample that is manageable in a brief survey, but also because Geoffrey of Vinsauf was an Englishman (he is often called 'Galfridus Anglicus' in the manuscripts) and appears to have written the *Poetria nova* in his native country. The work quickly established itself in England: the earliest surviving copies may have been produced while Geoffrey was still alive, and no fewer than twelve of the thirty-four English manuscripts date from the thirteenth century. While the latest manuscripts date from the thirt quarter of the fifteenth century, the surviving manuscripts are not evenly distributed across

⁴ This feature is stressed in the analysis of the *PN*'s contents that accompanies the copy of PN in BL, MS Royal 12. E. xi. See Appendix 4, below, for an edition and translation.

⁵ For commentary on the performative dimension of the *Poetria nova*, see Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers'.

⁶ Woods, 'A Medieval Rhetoric Goes to School' and Woods, Classroom Commentaries.

⁷ See Appendix 1 for a list of the English manuscripts that contain all or part of the *Poetria nova*.

the 250-year span of the tradition. Rather, the transmission of the *Poetria nova* in England falls into two clear 'waves'. The first wave begins with a surge in the first half of the thirteenth century, when nine of the surviving manuscripts were produced, and extends through the early years of the fourteenth century. Then comes a marked gap in the transmission, lasting nearly a century, before a second surge occurs around the turn of the fifteenth century. Of twenty-one fifteenth-century manuscripts, at least thirteen date from the first half, and particularly the first two decades, of the century. Assuming that the numbers of extant manuscripts roughly reflect the historical proportions of production and circulation, it will be important to account for the sudden revival of interest in the *Poetria nova* around 1400, following a long period of apparent neglect.

Before I contrast the earlier manuscripts with the later ones and speculate about the pedagogical implications of the differences between them, I need to make some basic distinctions regarding the categories of manuscripts represented in the sample and the nature of the 'copies' of the *Poetria nova* that they contain. Some of the surviving manuscripts were produced in their present form within a relatively restricted period, whether by one scribe or several scribes working in the same place. These are generally the most valuable sources of codicological evidence for teaching practices, particularly if their provenance can be determined. Other manuscripts took shape sequentially through the cumulative efforts of a series of scribes working in the same place over an extended period of time. Good examples in this category are some of the manuscripts that belonged to monastic houses and were carried back and forth to Oxford by a succession of student monks sent to study at the university (for example, manuscripts Dc, Od1, and Os, as listed in Appendix 1 below). Finally, there are 'composite' manuscripts pieced together from manuscripts that were produced independently of each other, often at great removes in time and place. Even these manuscripts can provide useful information if it can be determined when and where their contents were brought together. Just as new generations of teachers and students added glosses to earlier copies of textbooks, so too did new pedagogical trends and needs provide a catalyst for new juxtapositions of pre-existent teaching materials. By contrast, a composite manuscript like London, British Library, MS Harley 3775 (Lh) is of very little value for the present purposes. It appears that a sixteenth-century collector, rather than a medieval student or teacher, was responsible for juxtaposing its thirteenth-century copy of the Poetria nova with various historical materials, many of them associated with the Abbey of St Albans, dating from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.8

⁸ Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, p. 167; Clark, A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans, p. 180.

A second distinction may be made between those manuscripts that contain or once contained full copies of the *Poetria nova* and those that preserve only consciously selected excerpts from it. Of the thirty-four manuscripts in my sample, eight belong to the latter category (Cu, Lct, Lr1, Oad, Ob1, Ob2, Ob3, Or). These manuscripts, which span the full chronological range from the early thirteenth to the second half of the fifteenth centuries, are not to be conflated with those containing accidental fragments or imperfect copies of the *Poetria nova*. Whether one or more leaves have been lost from the manuscript or the scribe abandoned his task, a fragmentary or imperfect copy represents a different pedagogical strategy than the deliberate choice to reproduce only a selection from the text. Manuscripts that contain selected excerpts are valuable for indicating those contents of the *Poetria nova* that were found to be especially useful pedagogically.

Let us turn now to the group of manuscripts that were compiled no later than the early fourteenth century to see what they collectively reveal about the ways in which the Poetria nova was taught in England during the initial phase of its tradition. In these early manuscripts, the *Poetria nova* is accompanied chiefly and often exclusively by other poetry in Latin. This is true whether the *Poetria nova* is copied in full or only in excerpts. In several manuscripts the Poetria nova occurs together with substantial amounts of classical poetry. For example, the complete copy of the Poetria nova in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 406 (Cc), is copied with ten tragedies by Seneca, and the one in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.17 (Oau), with poems by Virgil and Ovid. Similarly, the poetic anthology Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552 (Or), gathers flowers from Geoffrey of Vinsauf and from twenty-two other classical and medieval poets, including Claudian, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Maximian, Persius, and Virgil. Most of these early manuscripts contain other medieval poetry besides the *Poetria nova*, especially poetry written in one of the chief classical verse forms — hexameters (like the *Poetria nova*) or elegiac distichs (the form favoured by Matthew of Vendôme). Among the works that appear in more than one manuscript are older Christian standard texts, such as Sedulius's Paschale carmen (Oau, Y) and Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (Oau, Or, Y), as well as more recent medieval 'masterpieces', such as Bernard Silvester's Cosmographia (Cc, Ol1), Matthew of Vendôme's Tobias (Oau, Ob2, Od2, Ol1, Or), and Alan of Lille's Anticlaudianus (Cc, Od2, Or, Y). These and the many other medieval poems copied together with the Poetria nova appear to have been selected as much for their moral and theologico-philosophical contents as for their formal qualities.

In only two of the thirteen manuscripts or parts of manuscripts dating from the first phase of the *Poetria nova*'s use in England is there any evidence suggesting that Geoffrey of Vinsauf's work was approached as a textbook on the art of

poetry as much as a poem in its own right. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 29 (Ct1), contains Horace's Ars poetica, Satires, and Epistles, Persius's Satires, and Ovid's Remedia amoris, together with three medieval textbooks: the Poetria nova, John of Garland's Distinctiones vocabulorum, and Alexander of Villa Dei's Doctrinale. Like the Doctrinale but unlike most of the other items, the Poetria nova is provided with an accessus, possibly indicating that the scribe envisioned these texts as serving a more complex pedagogical function. Only one English manuscript from the thirteenth century juxtaposes the Poetria nova with other arts of poetry and prose: Glasgow, Hunterian MS V.8.14 (G), compiled around 1225, probably in the East Midlands. This famous codex, a major source for Edmond Faral's 1924 editions of medieval arts of poetry and prose, is unique in combining an anthology of forty-nine medieval Latin school poems with copies of every art of poetry and prose available at that time, namely, Matthew of Vendôme's Ars versificatoria, Gervase of Melkley's De arte versificatoria et modo dictandi, and three works by Geoffrey of Vinsauf: the fullest surviving copy of his Summa de coloribus rhetoricis, his prose Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi, and the Poetria nova. The codicological evidence does not rule out the possibility that the *Poetria nova* is included simply or primarily as a repository of poetic set pieces and not as a textbook on rhetoric; this is not, however, so obviously the case as it is, for example, in the anthologies, where Geoffrey of Vinsauf has been excerpted in exactly the same way as other classical and medieval auctores.

If we shift our attention from the first wave of English manuscripts to the second wave, beginning around 1400, one of the first changes we are likely to notice is that the pattern represented in Hunterian MS V.8.14 is no longer anomalous. Indeed, many of the later manuscripts juxtapose the *Poetria nova* with other arts of poetry and prose (B, D, Lcc, Lr1, Obc1, Obc2, Ob3, Od1, Ol2, Os, P, W), and a few of them contain no other text in verse besides the *Poetria nova* (Lr1, Obc1, Os). No single manuscript contains as full a complement of arts of poetry and prose as Hunterian V.8.14, but the *Poetria nova* occurs with Matthew of Vendôme's treatise in two manuscripts (Obc1, Obc2), with Gervase of Melkley's in three (D, Obc1, Obc2), and with Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Documentum* in two (Lr1, P). By far the art of poetry and prose most likely to accompany the *Poetria nova* in these later manuscripts is an anonymous treatise known by its incipit *Tria sunt*, which is found with seven out of twenty-one fifteenth-century English cop-

⁹ See Faral, 'Le Manuscrit 511 du "Hunterian Museum" de Glasgow'; and *A Thirteenth-Century Anthology of Rhetorical Poems*, ed. by Harbert.

ies of the *Poetria nova* (B, D, Lcc, Obc1, Ol2, Os, W). ¹⁰ By contrast, the *Poetria nova* is the only composition textbook in five of those twenty-one manuscripts (Dc, Lr2, Ob1, Occ1, Occ2), and two of those five contain a copy of Alan of Lille's *De planctu nature* (Lr2, Occ2), very likely to provide advanced instruction in Latin composition as a 'masterpiece' in the sense defined by Douglas Kelly. ¹¹

Both Gervase of Melkley's De arte versificatoria et modo dictandi and the anonymous *Tria sunt* contain sections on the art of letter writing, ¹² and many of the fifteenth-century manuscripts incorporate still other letter-writing textbooks and model letters alongside the *Poetria nova*. For example, the *Formula moderni* et usitati dictaminis, composed at Oxford by the Benedictine Thomas Merke around 1390, accompanies the *Poetria nova* in Oxford, Balliol College, MS 263 (Obc1) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 65 (Os), 13 while short artes dictandi in verse appear in Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V.v.2 (Du) and Bodleian Library, MS Digby 64 (Od1). Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 65, written for Benedictine monks at Oxford, in the early fifteenth century, clearly indicates that the *Poetria nova* was used to teach letter writing in England. Besides the *Poetria nova* and the *Tria sunt*, MS Selden Supra 65 contains a group of eighteen model letters and no fewer than three artes dictandi. Similar evidence comes from the copy of the *Poetria nova* preserved in British Library, MS Harley 3775 (Lh). In the margin of this thirteenth-century manuscript, a later English hand has added a typical model letter from a student at Oxford to his father, requesting money. 14 By the late fourteenth century, the use of the *Poetria nova* to teach letter writing seems to have been well established at Oxford and probably elsewhere in England.15

The grouping of the *Poetria nova* with other arts of poetry and prose and with arts of letter writing is part of a more general trend away from the almost exclusive interest in poetry of the earlier manuscripts and towards an increased empha-

¹⁰ On this work, see especially Camargo, 'Tria sunt'.

¹¹ Kelly uses the term 'masterpiece' to designate medieval literary texts that functioned as the supreme form of 'treatise' on the art of composition: see Kelly, *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*, pp. 57–64. The anonymous *Tria sunt* quotes extensively from both the *Poetria nova* and the *De planctu nature*.

¹² Gervais de Melkley, *Ars Poetica*, ed. by Gräbener, pp. 224–29; Camargo, 'Toward a Comprehensive Art of Written Discourse'.

¹³ Merke, *Formula moderni et usitati dictaminis*, ed. by Camargo. The *Poetria nova* is among the major sources for Merke's treatise.

¹⁴ Incipit: 'Viro venerande discrecionis patri suo J. hoxonie scolatizans salutem' (fol. 166°).

¹⁵ See also BL, MS Royal 12. B. xvii (Lr1), which may have been produced in Norfolk.

sis on prose. This trend is evident even in some of the manuscripts containing excerpts, although for the most part the choice of passages to excerpt appears to have been driven by thematic rather than formal concerns. For example, the passage excerpted in British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xx (Lct) — the personification of a proud fortress defying French soldiers (*PN*, ll. 515–26) — echoes the anti-French sentiments of other items in this anthology. A notable exception is the excerpting of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's teaching on 'conversions' in Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832 (Ob3). The compiler of these excerpts makes a point of mixing Geoffrey's examples of stylistic variation in verse with other examples in prose that illustrate the same techniques. To

Many of the prose texts found in the later manuscripts are concerned with historical, scriptural, or moral topics. Although they are not textbooks on composition, several of these prose texts apparently played a role in the teaching and/or practice of rhetoric. I have argued elsewhere that Alan of Lille's *prosimetrum De planctu nature*, together with three works entirely in prose — John of Limoges's *Morale somnium Pharaonis*, Guido of Colonna's *Historia destructionis Troie*, and Richard of Bury's *Philobiblon* — served as a kind of reference collection on prose style at Oxford during the fifteenth century. The *Poetria nova* appears together with one or more of these texts in eight fifteenth-century English manuscripts (D, Du, Lcc, Lr2, Obc1, Obc2, Occ2, W).

One final category of prose text also bears special mention. In the fifteenth century it becomes common for quadrivial texts, especially works on arithmetic and astronomy, to be copied or bound together with the *Poetria nova*. There are no examples of this pattern from the first phase of the *Poetria nova*'s English tradition. In Bodleian Library, MS Digby 104 (Od2), a thirteenth-century section that contains the *Poetria nova* and the *Anticlaudianus* is followed immediately by an originally separate section containing fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century glossed copies of Alexander of Villa Dei's *Massa compoti* and *Algorismus*. However, this juxtaposition reveals nothing about medieval pedagogical practices, since the contents of this composite manuscript almost certainly were assembled by Thomas Allen in the seventeenth century. ¹⁹ By contrast, about a third of the fifteenth-cen-

 $^{^{16}}$ See, for example, 'Invectio contra Franciam' (fols 81^{r} – 85^{v}) and 'Disputatio inter Anglum et Francum' (fol. 101^{r-v}).

¹⁷ The passage is edited and translated as Appendix 2, below.

¹⁸ Camargo, 'Beyond the *Libri Catoniani*'.

¹⁹ See Macray, Hunt, and Watson, *Digby Manuscripts*, pt 1: A Reproduction of the 1883 Catalogue by W. D. Macray, pp. 118–23; pt 2: Notes on Macray's Descriptions of the Manuscripts by R. W. Hunt and A. G. Watson, pp. 57–59.

tury manuscripts contain texts dealing with 'natural philosophy', including works by John of Sacrobosco and Robert Grosseteste that were standard reading in the university curriculum at Oxford (B, Dc, Lcc, Ob3, Occ1, Occ2).

The presence of such texts and the general shift from poetry to prose in the contents of the manuscripts can be seen as evidence that the fifteenth-century revival of interest in the Poetria nova took at least some of its impetus from developments at the more advanced levels of grammar study, most likely in association with the arts course at the University of Oxford. Manuscript provenance provides additional evidence that points in the same direction. While there is no obvious geographical centre for the study and teaching of the Poetria nova in thirteenthand early fourteenth-century England, a significant concentration is evident at Oxford by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Many of the manuscripts whose ownership can be traced belonged to Benedictine monks who studied at Oxford and then returned either to their mother house or to one of its dependencies, where they would have performed a variety of functions that included teaching arts to the novices. It is possible that the revival of interest in the *Poetria nova* is a byproduct of the requirement that every Benedictine monastery send at least one of its members to study at a university. It is certainly the case that the number of monks studying at Oxford increased dramatically during the fourteenth century and that a high percentage of the early fifteenth-century manuscripts containing materials for teaching Latin composition were produced by black monks who spent time at the university.²⁰

Since many of those who studied the *Poetria nova* at Oxford, including the monks, would have gone on to teach grammar-school boys or their equivalent, we should not be surprised to encounter some fifteenth-century manuscripts that retain many of the contents that defined the thirteenth-century tradition. Medieval poetry continues to be well represented, for example, although classical poetry is encountered much less frequently. The only fifteenth-century examples are Oxford, Balliol College, MS 276 (Obc2), which contains the comedies of Terence, and Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 707 (Ol2), which includes ten sets of 'proverbial verses', at least half of them by classical poets. The latter manuscript illustrates my point about the career trajectory of those who produced such collections: it was written in the 1430s by John Maunsell, a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who went on to become a fellow of Eton College in 1447.²¹

²⁰ I discuss these developments at greater length in Camargo, 'Rhetoricians in Black'. An essential source on the fourteenth-century revival of learning among the English Benedictines, including their interest in rhetoric, is Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans*.

²¹ Emden, *BRUO*, 11 (1958), 1246.

Changes also are noticeable in the selection of medieval poetry in the later manuscripts. While the *Anticlaudianus* continues to appear with some frequency, Matthew of Vendôme's *Tobias* is found in only one fifteenth-century manuscript (Obc2),²² and Bernard Silvester's *Cosmographia* in none. On the other hand, John of Hauville's *Architrenius* gained in popularity, possibly due to renewed interest in Gervase of Melkley's art of poetry and prose, where it is praised and cited extensively.²³ Hugh Legat, a Benedictine of St Albans and scholar at Oxford, even composed a commentary on the *Architrenius*, which is preserved in Bodleian Library, MS Digby 64. By far the biggest gains were made by Alan of Lille's *De planctu nature*, which appears in no manuscript from the first wave but in seven from the second wave (D, Du, Lcc, Lr2, Obc2, Occ2, W). This *prosimetrum* was clearly the 'masterpiece' of choice in fifteenth-century England, equally at home in contexts dominated by poetry or prose.²⁴

In the fifteenth-century manuscripts whose contents are most clearly focused on teaching grammar-school boys, there appear for the first time glosses and even entire items in French or English. A good example is British Library, MS Royal 12. B. xvii (Lr1), which contains a substantial selection from the *Poetria nova* (fols 43°–53°; *PN*, ll. 1061–1590), Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Documentum* (fols 73°–86°), and several other works on Latin grammar and composition. The first item (fols 1°–43°), a treatise on the colours by 'J. Miller' or possibly the Oxford clerk David Pencaer, includes several examples in English; another item, a set of mnemonic verses on Latin prosody (fols 66°–71°), is glossed in English and French; and near the end of the manuscript is an incomplete adaptation of a Latin treatise

²² The original contents of Oxford, Balliol College, MS 276 (c. 1442) included the *Tobias* and the *Architrenius*, but both items have been lost. See Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford*, pp. xxvii, 291–93.

²³ Gervais de Melkley, *Ars Poetica*, ed. by Gräbener, p. 3: 'Magister Iohannes de Hanvilla, cuius ubera discipline rudem adhuc mihi lactaverunt infantiam, multas quidem elegantias adinvenit, plures auditoribus suis tradidit. In libello vero suo de peregrino philosopho, quem Architrenium vocat, plurimas observavit. Cuius quidem libelli sola sufficit inspectio studiosa rudem animum informare'; trans. by Giles, 'Gervais of Melkley's Treatise', p. 4: 'Master John of Hanville, the breasts of whose teaching nourished my rough infancy, has indeed invented many elegancies, has handed several on to his hearers. In fact in his little book concerning philosophical pilgrimage, which he calls *Architrenius*, he attended to a great many. Indeed, only looking into [his] little book is sufficient to give form to a rough spirit'.

²⁴ In the discussion following the oral presentation of this paper (University of Sydney, July 2006), Douglas Kelly noted the 'darker' quality of the masterpieces favoured in the fifteenth century and suggested that this could also be a sign that the teachers employing them were targeting older students.

on *equivoca* or homonyms (incipit: 'Augustus — ti — to mensis autumnalis') that is written in a combination of Latin and English (fols $107^{r}-108^{r}$). The slightly earlier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions latines 699 (P), a composite, brings together a Latin manuscript with contents similar to those of Royal 12. B. xvii and two originally separate manuscripts containing several texts in French: a vocabulary (with glosses in English), a treatise on speaking French, and another on writing letters in French.

Like the emphasis on poetry in the earlier manuscripts, the presence of the vernacular in the later manuscripts indicates that the intended level of instruction is the grammar school. Still another indication of elementary study is the increasingly explicit attention to oral performance. Some of the space devoted to collections of actual poems in the earlier *Poetria nova* manuscripts comes to be occupied by texts on accents and metre. In MS Bodley 832, one also finds instructions in a mixture of Latin and English on how to read Latin poetry aloud.²⁵ However, although only one of the earlier manuscripts, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 51 (Ct2), contains such materials,²⁶ other evidence shows that the *Poetria nova*'s association with instruction in the oral performance of Latin poetry is nothing new. In fact, the title usually given Geoffrey of Vinsauf's work in thirteenth-century England was not *Poetria nova* or 'New Poetics', but *Liber de artificio loquendi* or 'Book about Skill in Speaking'.²⁷

Thus, we can conclude that, in England, for the first century of its existence, the *Poetria nova* was used to teach analysis and interpretation, memorization and recitation, and finally imitation of Latin poetry, both that of ancient Roman poets and that of medieval poets writing in classical metres. The long gap in the *Poetria nova*'s English tradition, spanning most of the fourteenth century, may simply be an accident of manuscript preservation, since the same emphases are encountered in some of the manuscripts that begin to appear again around 1400. What is truly different about the apparent revival is the high proportion of manuscripts associated with more advanced studies, particularly in a university environment. Along

 $^{^{25}}$ An edition and translation of these brief remarks is provided in Appendix 3, below.

²⁶ Although this manuscript is a composite, the four originally separate volumes had been bound together by 1389, when the manuscript is recorded in a catalogue of the library of the Benedictine priory at Dover: see James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 431, volume 394. The *Poetria nova* is the first part of the manuscript; the third part consists of two treatises on accents. See James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, II (1901), 119–21.

²⁷ This title or one of its variants appears in the following English copies of the *Poetria nova*: Cc, Ct1, Ct2, Le, Lh, Od2, Ol1, Y. I discuss the *Poetria nova*'s title(s) in more detail in an unpublished paper, Camargo, 'What's in a Name?'.

with poetry, the *Poetria nova* is now being used to teach prose composition, in particular letter writing or the *ars dictaminis*.

What I do not find is any evidence that the *Poetria nova* was being used at Oxford or anywhere else in England to teach rhetorical theory, in the way that it was used in the Central European university contexts studied by Woods. The *Tria sunt*, a comprehensive art of poetry and prose that was probably composed at Oxford near the end of the fourteenth century, shows how the *Poetria nova* was used even in an English university context. When its author needs to provide rhetorical doctrine, he draws on Geoffrey of Vinsauf's prose *Documentum*, the prose treatises by Matthew of Vendôme and Gervase of Melkley, classical authorities such as Horace's *Ars poetica* and the Ciceronian rhetorics, together with commentaries on these ancient authorities.²⁸ Whenever he cites the *Poetria nova*, as he frequently does, it is nearly always as a poem and rarely as a rhetorical treatise, a fact he underscores by consistently calling it the *Liber versuum* or 'Book of Verses'. The codicological evidence suggests that in this, as in all of his teaching methods, the anonymous author of the *Tria sunt* was following standard practice for England in the fifteenth century.

²⁸ For some examples, see Camargo, 'Latin Composition Textbooks and *Ad Herennium* Glossing'.

Appendix 1: The English Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Poetria nova

A. English manuscripts that contain the *Poetria nova* (*PN*), including full texts, imperfect texts, and excerpts. Manuscripts are arranged alphabetically by city, institution, and shelf mark.

- [B] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. qu. 515 (s. xv in.; Ottery St Mary, Devon)
 PN: fols 37^r-68^r (with glosses)
- 2. [Cc] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 406 (s. xiii¹; England) *PN*: fols 101^{ra}–112^{vb} ²⁹
- 3. [Ct1] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 29 (s. xiii¹; belonged to Cistercian Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Holme Cultran, Cumberland) *PN*: fols 97^{ra}–105^{rb} (with *accessus*, fol. 96^v)
- [Ct2] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 51 (composite of four manuscripts. [PN: s. xiii¹], bound together by s. xiv; Benedictine Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Martin, Dover)
 PN: fols 1^r-35^r
- 5. [Ct3] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 14. 22 (composite of two manuscripts, s. xiii and s. xiv/xv [PN: s. xiii]; England, belonged to Dominicans of Leicester in s. xv?)

PN: fols 3^r-44^r (with 2 accessus and glosses)

- 6. [Cu] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.1.25 (s. xv; England) *PN*: pp. 360–62 (excerpts: *PN*, ll. 625–65, 326–66, 368–430)
- 7. [D] Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 764 (s. xiv/xv; Oxford, perhaps Merton College)

PN: fols 186^r-225^v

8. [Dc] Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, MS C.IV.23 (s. xiv/xv; Durham/Oxford?)

PN: fols 57^r-126^r

²⁹ One leaf is bound out of order: fol. 101 (containing PN, ll. 1280–1492) should follow fol. 109. In addition, the lines that are PN, ll. 2099–2116 in Faral's edition are here placed at the beginning of the text, as a prefatory epistle (fol. 102^{ra}). The text concludes at PN, l. 2080, on fol. 112^{vb} .

- 9. [Du] Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V.V.2 (s. xv¹; England) *PN*: fols 125^r–160^r
- 10. [G] Glasgow, Hunterian Library, MS Hunterian V.8.14 (s. xiii in. [c. 1225]; East Midlands)

PN: fols 72^r-101^v

11. [Lcc] London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra B. vi (composite of five manuscripts, ss. xiii-xiv/xv [*PN*: s. xiv/xv]; probable Oxford origin for most contents; one part belonged to Benedictine Abbey of St Kenelm, Winchcomb, in s. xv

PN: fols $4^{\rm r}$ – $33^{\rm v}$

12. [Lct] London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xx (s. xiv ex.; large monastery in London area)

PN: fols 97^v–98^r (excerpt: *PN*, ll. 515–26)

- 13. [Le] London, British Library, MS Egerton 2261 (s. xiii; England) *PN*: fol. 224^{ra/b} (fragment: *PN*, ll. 2006–80; with explicit)
- 14. [Lh] London, British Library, MS Harley 3775 (composite, ss. xiii-xv [PN: s. xiii], probably not bound together until s. xvi; England, some contents from St Albans)

PN: fols 150^r-178^r

- 15. [Lr1] London, British Library, MS Royal 12. B. xvii (s. xv med.; Norfolk?)³⁰ *PN*: fols 43^v-53^r (excerpt: *PN*, 1061–1590)
- 16. [Lr2] London, British Library, MS Royal 12. E. xi (s. xv med.; Oxford) *PN*: fols 3^r-52^r (with glosses and appended analysis [fols 52^r-53^r])
- 17. [Obc1] Oxford, Balliol College, MS263 (s.xiv/xv; England, probably Oxford) *PN*: fols 32°-44°
- [Obc2] Oxford, Balliol College, MS 276 (1442; Oxford; donated to Balliol College by Willliam Gray, Bishop of Ely [d. 1478])
 PN: fols 2^r-14^v (text begins at PN, l. 153)

³⁰ On the pedagogical implications of this manuscript's contents, see Camargo, 'Grammar School Rhetoric'.

[Oad] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A.44 (s. xiii in., with later additions [PN: (excerpt): s. xv med.] England)
 PN: fols 7°-8° (excerpt: PN, Il. 368-430)

- 20. [Oau] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.17 (s. xiv¹; England) *PN*: fols 109^r–121^v
- 21. [Ob1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 496 (composite of two manuscripts: A. 1430s, Latin and B. s. xv², French; MS A: Oriel College, Oxford) *PN*: fol. 241° (excerpts: *PN*, ll. 1366–85, 1888–93, 1895–1909)
- 22. [Ob2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 656 (s. xiii in.; donated to Augustinian Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr at Lessness or Westwood, Kent, in s. xiii)

PN: fol. 145^{r-v} (excerpt: *PN*, ll. 368–89, 392–430)

23. [Ob3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832 (s. xv² [before 1470]; England)³¹

PN: fols $20^{\text{v}}-21^{\text{v}}$; 66^{v} ; $67^{\text{r}}-68^{\text{r}}$ (excerpts: PN, ll. 1622-44, 1651-60; 713-17; 1624-44, 1651-65, 1667-79)

- 24. [Od1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 64 (s. xv¹; Benedictine: St Albans?) *PN*: fols 25°–45° (ends imperfectly at *PN*, l. 1859; with *accessus* and glosses, some in English)
- 25. [Od2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 104 (composite, ss. xii–xiv [PN: s. xiii in.]; donated to Carthusian Charterhouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Witham, Somerset, by John Blackman [d. 1485]³²)
 PN: fols 21^{ra}–33^{vb} (ends imperfectly at PN, l. 2054)
- 26. [Ol1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 515 (s. xiii in. [c. 1230]; belonged to Augustinian Abbey of Holy Cross, Waltham, Essex, in s. xiv [Benedictine origin?])

PN: fols 141^v–181^r

 $^{^{31}}$ On the pedagogical implications of this manuscript's contents, see Camargo, 'Grammar School Rhetoric'.

³² Blackman had been a fellow of Merton College, Oxford (until 1443) and Eton College (1443–53) before he entered the Carthusian order. See Emden, *BRUO*, I (1957), 194–95.

- 27. [Ol2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 707 (s. xv; probably Oriel College, Oxford)
 - PN: fols $4^{r}-32^{v}$ (with glosses)
- 28. [Or] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552 (s. xiii in.; England?) *PN*: fols 14^v-15^v (short excerpts: 91 lines in all)
- 29. [Os] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 65 (s. xv in.; Benedictine: Canterbury College, Oxford)

 PN: fols 85^r-111^r, 140^r-145^v (restores verses omitted at fols 88^r and 91^r)
- 30. [Occ1] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 132 (s. xv; England [York?]) *PN*: fols 108^r–116^r (ends imperfectly at *PN*, l. 603)³³
- 31. [Occ2] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 144 (composite, ss. xiv and xv [PN: s. xv¹]; assembled/copied 1430–42 by the Benedictine John Bamburgh at Tynemouth)
 - PN: fols 19^r-43^v (with accessus [fol. 18^v] and glosses)
- 32. [P] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions latines 699 (s. xv¹; Beverley?)
 PN: fols 60¹-91¹
- 33. [W] Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library, MS Q.79 (s. xv¹; England) *PN*: fols 1^r–34^r (with Marbod of Rennes's *De ornamentis verborum* interpolated at end [fols 34^r–35^v])
- 34. [Y] York, Minster Library, MS XVI.Q.14 (s. xiii in.; England) *PN*: fols 106^r–111^v

B. English copies of PN arranged by approximate date:³⁴

- (i) s. xiii¹: Cc, Ct1, Ct2, G, Ob2, Od2, Ol1, Or, Y [9]
- (ii) other s. xiii-s. xiv in.: Ct3, Le, Lh, Oau [4]
- (iii) s. xiv ex.-s. xv¹: B, D, Dc, Du, Lcc, Lct, Obc1, Obc2, Ob1, Od1, Os, Occ2, P, W [14]
- (iv) other s. xv: Cu, Lr1, Lr2, Oad, Ob3, Ol2, Occ1 [7]

³³ For his help in verifying this reference, I wish to thank Julian Reid, Archivist of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

 $^{^{34}}$ An early copy may now be part of a composite manuscript that was assembled at a later date.

Appendix 2: Stylistic Variation

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832 (Ob3)

Edition

[fol. 20^r] Hic restat dicere / loqui de variacione secundum doctrinam Magistri Galfridi, per quam prouecciores latinitates ornacius componi inde possunt per diuersos casus, vt conuertendo no<minatiuum> in genitiuum, genitiuum in datiuum et ita per ceteros casus. Et primo exemplificandum est prosaice et postea metrice. Et hec est materia vel thema: 'Iste est bonus puer'.³⁵

- ¶ Bonitas altissona hanc puerilem etatem lepide et affluenter exornat. (De Nominatiuo)
 - ¶ Ista teneritudo annorum summo fulgescit bonitatis honore. (De Genitiuo)
- ¶ Hec indoles pusionis primeua sociatur, nubit et magnifice bonitati eleganter adheret. (De Datiuo)
- ¶ Istius adolescentis fama bonitatem circumplectit actibus vniuersis. (De Accusatiuo)
- ¶ Euge, bonitas innata, que morum floriditate hunc puerulum eliganter depingis! (De Vocatiuo)
- ¶ Huius infantis virtuosa puerilitas multiplici bonitate indies reflorescit. (De Ablatiuo)

Et ita quelibet materia secundum vocem variari potest. Nec tamen diminuitur vel hebitatur in hoc intellectus sentencie, ad instar corporis vestiti, quod idem est licet pluries speciosis et variis amictibus induatur. Nam sicud homo variis vestibus decoratur, substancia non mutata, ita et oratio tam soluta quam ligata huiusmodi varietate verborum adornatur, eodem sensu nihilominus firmiter obseruato, idem tamen sensus in omnibus perseuerat.

[fol. 20^v] Exemplum quomodo verbum potest mutari in nomen per diuersos casus, vt ait Magister Galfridus in *Noua poetria*, cuius exemplum fiat de 'doleo, -es'. Vnde versus:

Luceat exemplo res ista. Sit hoc breue thema:

'Ex hac re doleo'. Tum vtere lege statuta:

'Ex hoc fonte mihi manat dolor'. 'Hinc mihi³⁶ surgit (De Nominatiuo)

³⁵ 'per diuersos [...] puer' was added later, probably by the same hand. The first example involves an initial change in the part of speech, from an adjective ('bonus') to a noun ('bonitas'), as well as the changes in the case of the noun from one 'conversion' to the next.

³⁶ MS: meo (m°).

Radix' vel 'semen' vel 'fons' vel 'origo doloris'. (De Genitiuo) 'Res hec materiam prestat causamque³⁷ dolori.' (De Datiuo) 'Seminat' aut 'gignit' aut 'ingerit³⁸ ipsa dolorem'. (De Accusatiuo) 'Vvlneribus diris in me, dolor anxie, seuis,' (De Vocatiuo) (De Ablatiuo) 'Mens mihi decumbit male sospes et egra dolore.' A verbo 'doleo' sic nomen sume 'doloris'. Ouemlibet in casum sic mutes; cuilibet addes Structuram³⁹ vocum similem que competit illi Materie. Vel item non sumas nomen ab illo Set magis a simili verbo signante dolorem, Qualia sunt 'suspiro', 'queror', 'gemo', 'lacrimor'. Inde Nomina sunt 'lacrime', 'gemitus', 'suspiria', 'questus'. (PN, ll. 1622–36)

Et dicit idem autor quod non solum sumendum est nomen ab hoc verbo 'doleo, -es', set a verbo simili in significacione, [fol. 21^r] vt ab hoc verbo 'suspiro, -as', 'suspirium'; de 'gemo, -is', 'gemitus'; de 'queror, -reris', 'questus'; de 'lacrimor, -aris', 'lacrime'. Versus:

(Artificialis coniunccio verborum cum nominibus.)
Sic igitur sensum verborum nomina dicunt:
'Ex animo veniunt suspiria, questus ab ore;
A facie manant lacrime gemitusque resumo
Continue'. Sic dic festiuius istud: 'Ab imo
Pectoris erumpunt suspiria, questibus aier
Exclamat, lacrimas deriua<t> fons oculorum
Et gemitus rumpunt animum'. Sic nomina verbis
Artificique modo notat transumpcio quedam.

(PN, ll. 1637–44)

Superius docetur qualiter verbum potest conuerti in nomen secundum ordinem casuum. Hic ostendit artem qualiter nomen adiectiuum potest conuerti in suum substantiuum vel in substantiuum cognate significacionis et hoc secundum ordinem casuum: primo <de> nominatiuo, secundo de genitiuo et ita per ordinem de ceteris casibus. Et sit istud: 40 'Pueri candidus est vultus'. Vnde versus:

³⁷ MS: causam prestat que.

³⁸ MS: mergit.

³⁹ MS: Stricturam.

⁴⁰ MS: istiud.

Regula que supra docuit conuertere verbum, Mobile sub simili forma conuertat: eisdem <passibus hic curras et ibi, quia servat eamdem> Cursus vterque viam. Quod themate lucet in isto: 'Candidus est vultus'. Sic istud mobile mutes Et positam legem seruet: 'Illuminat ora (De Nominatiuo) [fol. 21^v] Candor'. '<Can>doris radio' vel 'luce corusca[n]t'. (De Genitiuo) 'Nubit candori facies.' 'Solis gerit instar (De Datiuo) (De Accusatiuo) Candorem maxilla suum radiosa.' 'Propinat V<i>sibus humanis speculum⁴¹ mundoque diescit (De Vocatiuo)42 Ex solo candore gene.' Sedet hic modus apte. (De Ablatiuo) (PN, ll. 1651–60)

Item: Variacio latinitatis, 43 vt patet. Dominus ad seruos: 'Eya, famuli mei, velociter adestote et residuum mense mee distribuite ad hostium inter pauperes sine mora'. Siue sic: 'et bellaria mense citissime pauperibus errogate' siue 'ex templo parciunculas panum et carnium que supersunt in mensa pauperes per vestras manus amplexentur imploro' siue 'cuius fragmentis presentis conuiuij inopes sint refecti' siue 'victualibus que r'-m [residuum?] distribuendis gaudeant egeni ad hostium clamitantes' siue 'ex particulis eius mellifluis euestigio pascantur egeni' siue 'misellania⁴⁴ que superfuere in hoc festo per vos celeriter sunt pauperibus distribuenda'45 siue 'languentibus statim erogentur fragmenta' siue 'residuum festine tribua[n]tur famelicis' siue 'protinus necessarijs46 fruantur indigentes' siue 'confestim egentibus [fol. 22^r] largiantur diuisa' siue 'quod superest cito manducent penuria pregrauati' siue 'ad pastum miserorum celeriter distribuatur quod remanet' siue 'properanter de micis eius sacientur esurientes extra' siue 'ex adipe ipsius venter vulgi propere saturetur inanis' siue 'egrotancium famem lacrimabilem sua particio saciet, ieiuni'47 siue 'erogantibus vobis pane deficientes in via melius se habeant inde pasci' siue 'ex optato residuo mature pasca[n]tur mendicantium lacrimosa turba' siue 'ex inde in saturitate comedant gaudentes qui

⁴¹ 'radiosa [...] speculum': this variant is noted in the apparatus to Faral's edition of the *PN* (Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ed. by Faral, p. 248) but is not included in the text proper.

⁴² No example of the vocative is provided, despite the scribe's rubric.

⁴³ MS: Lat'.

⁴⁴ That is, 'miscellanea'; MS: misellamia, *corr. ex* Fragmenta.

⁴⁵ MS: distributa.

⁴⁶ MS: n^cssorijs.

 $^{^{47}}$ I have retained 'ieiuni' and punctuated as if it were direct address; but the sentence would make better sense if this word were omitted.

diu tristi ieiunio doluerunt ad portam' siue 'ex hoc numerus equitancium quos mouere⁴⁸ fames horrida diu constringit prandium habeant delicatum'.

Quod Sampford, alias Longe.

Translation

Here it remains to speak / to talk about variation according to the teaching of Master Geoffrey, by means of which more advanced Latin compositions can be composed more elegantly by means of the various cases, as by converting the nominative into the genitive, the genitive into the dative, and so on through the remaining cases. And this should be illustrated first in prose and afterward in verse. And this is the subject matter or theme: 'This is a good boy'.

- ¶ 'Sublime goodness pleasantly and abundantly adorns this boyish age.' (Nominative)
- ¶ 'This tenderness of years glows with the highest esteem of goodness.' (Genitive)
- ¶ 'This youthful nature of a little boy is joined, marries itself, and gracefully clings to magnificent goodness.' (Dative)
- ¶ 'The renown of this young person embraces goodness in all its actions.' (Accusative)
- ¶ 'Bravo, inborn goodness, you who gracefully depict this little boy with the flourishing of morals!' (Vocative)
- ¶ 'The virtuous childishness of this infant blooms anew with manifold goodness from day to day.' (Ablative)

And thus any kind of subject matter can be varied, according to a particular word. Nor is the understanding of the meaning diminished or weakened in this, in the same way as a clothed body, which is the same even though it is adorned many times with beautiful and varied garments. For just as a man is arrayed with various articles of clothing, without his substance having changed, so also discourse, whether loose [i.e., in prose] or bound [i.e., in verse], is adorned with a like variety of words, while the same sense is nonetheless steadily perceived, the same meaning nevertheless persists in all of them.

An example of how a verb can be changed into a noun through its various cases, as Master Geoffrey of Vinsauf says in the *New Poetics*, whose example is made from the verb 'to grieve'. Whence the verses:

⁴⁸ I suspect that 'equitancium' is a misreading of 'egrotancium' ('starving') and 'mouere' or 'monere' (the two are indistinguishable) is a misreading for 'manere' ('remain').

Let this matter shine forth in an example. Let this be the brief theme: 'I grieve because of this matter'. Now use the rule that has been established: 'From this spring grief flows in me'. (Nominative) 'From here there rises in me the root' or 'seed' or 'spring' or 'source of grief'. (Genitive) 'This matter supplies the topic and the cause for grief.' (Dative) 'This sows' or 'begets' or 'inflicts grief'. (Accusative) 'With grievous wounds, troublesome grief, you rage against me.' (Vocative) 'My mind lies ill at ease and sick with grief.' (Ablative) From the verb 'to grieve' take in this way the noun 'grief'. You can change it into whatever case in this way; you will impart to each a like arrangement of words that is appropriate for that subject matter. Or again you should take the noun not from that one but rather from a similar verb signifying grief, examples of which are 'to sigh', 'to complain', 'to groan', 'to weep'. From these come the nouns 'tears', 'groans', 'sighs', 'complaints'.

And the same author says that the noun is to be taken not only from this verb 'to grieve', but also from a verb that is like it in meaning, as from this verb 'to sigh' 'sighs', from 'to groan' 'groans', from 'to complain' 'complaints', from 'to weep' 'tears'. Verses (the artful conjoining of verbs with nouns):

In this way, therefore, do nouns articulate the meaning of verbs: 'From my spirit come sighs, complaints from my mouth; tears flow on my face and I renew my groans continuously'. Say this more agreeably thus: 'From the depths of my breast sighs burst forth, the air resounds with my complaints, the spring of my eyes pours forth tears, and groans shatter my spirit'. In this way a kind of metaphor designates nouns with yerbs in an artful manner.

Above is taught how a verb can be changed into a noun following the sequence of the cases. Here it shows the technique whereby an adjectival noun can be converted into its substantive or into a substantive of related meaning and this following the sequence of the cases: first concerning the nominative, second concerning the genitive, and so on through the sequence of the remaining cases. And let it [i.e., the theme] be this: 'The boy's countenance is bright'. Whence the verses:

The rule that taught above how to convert the verb, may convert the movable one [i.e., an adjective] in a similar fashion: you may run with the same steps both here and there, because both courses keep to the same path. That shows clearly in this theme: 'The countenance is bright.' You may change this adjective and it can observe the rule that has been established: 'Brightness lights up the face.' (Nominative) 'It flashes with a ray' or 'the light of brightness.' (Genitive) 'The face is wed to brightness.' (Dative) 'The image of the sun displays its brightness on his radiant cheek.' (Accusative) 'He provides a mirror for human gazes and it dawns in the world through the brightness of his cheek alone.' (Ablative) This method suits nicely.

Likewise, variation in a composition exercise, as appears [here]. A master to his servants: 'Attention, my minions, go quickly and distribute the remains of my table among the paupers at the door without delay'. Or thus: 'and disburse the last fruits of the table to the poor as swiftly as possible, or 'from the temple I implore that the poor may embrace through your hands the little morsels of bread and meat that are left on the table, or 'that the destitute be refreshed with the fragments of this present banquet, or 'that the needy who cry out at the door may rejoice in the victuals that remain to be distributed, or 'that the needy may be fed from the trace from its mellifluous particles, or 'the odd bits that were left over at this feast should be distributed by you rapidly to the poor', or 'disburse the fragments to the feeble immediately, or 'let the remains be allotted to the famished in haste', or 'let the indigent enjoy the necessities right away', or 'let what has been removed be dispensed speedily to the needy, or 'let those oppressed by penury swiftly devour what is left over, or 'let what remains be distributed rapidly for the sustenance of the wretched', or 'let those who hunger outdoors be satiated hastily with its crumbs', or 'from its fat let the empty belly of the crowd be filled in haste', or 'O you who fast, may its apportioning satiate the lamentable hunger of those who languish, or 'with you disbursing, those who are without bread in the street would be in a better position to eat of it, or 'from the desired remains let the tearful throng of beggars be fed soon, or 'from this source let them consume, rejoicing in fullness, who long grieved in sad fasting at the gate', or 'from this let the company of "riders", whom rough hunger long constrained to move, have a delicate meal'.

By Sampford, alias Longe.

Appendix 3: Instructions on Reading Aloud

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832 (Ob3)

Edition

[fol. 18^v] There byth iij punctes yn redynge: coma, colon, and periodus. Coma hath o point and euer ys rad vpwarde. Colon hath ij and ys rad playn. Periodus ys yn the 3ende of þe resoun and ys put adoun, vt in hac collecta: 'Vota⁴⁹ nostra, quesumus,⁵⁰ Domine, celesti pietate prosequere' (ecce colon) 'vt et que agenda sunt videant' (ecce coma) 'et⁵¹ adimplenda que viderint conualescant' (ecce periodus et terminatur sentencia).⁵²

A good reder shall hys eye a fore the worde and than shall he rede welle. Vnde M<agister> J<ohannes> d<e> G<arlandia>: 53

Inprouisa legens vigili percurrat ocello Que legit et facilem varia vice tollere vocem Alternoque sono studeat descendere caute. Lector culpatur nisi leccio preuideatur Et legitur leuius leccio visa prius.

Euery interrogacioun shal be radde vpward yn þe fynalle syllabelle off þe last worde, vt ibi: 'Quid ex<i>stis in desertum videre?'54 et cetera. Vnde versus:

Vox quesituri semper prestabit acutum Accentum fini: documentum sic dabo tutum.

⁴⁹ MS: Nota.

⁵⁰ MS: quamuis?

⁵¹ MS: vt.

⁵² This is a version of Gregory I's collect of the Mass for the first Sunday after the Epiphany: Gregory the Great, *Dominica i post theophanyam*. The scribe has substituted 'nostra' ('our') for 'supplicantis populi' ('the beseeching people') without making the necessary change from third to first person in the subsequent verbs, a change I have supplied in the translation. The scribe also provides the corresponding medieval marks of punctuation, which I have not tried to reproduce in the edited text.

⁵³ John of Garland, *Ars lectoria Ecclesiae or Accentarium*, ed. and trans. by Marguin-Hamon, p. 212, ll. 82–85. The fifth line is from a different source.

⁵⁴ Matthew 11. 7, Luke 8. 24.

[fol. 19^r] Ther nys but o accent yn o worde. Vnde autor, *Catholicon*: vnius diccionis est principalis accentus.⁵⁵ Ideo arguendi sunt qui nimis morose et tractim legunt, cuilibet fere sillabe accentum reddentes, vt moniales et earum sequentes.⁵⁶

In al maner redynge pawse truly. Make than no rest by twene be adiectyff and hys substantyff, the nowun and hys genetyff case, nober by twene the preposycioun and hys case, quia mala pausacio obscurat intellectum. Filius hominis est semper filius virginis Marie in sacra scriptura. Vnde Wyndosinensis in *Equiuocis*: ⁵⁷ 'Quem dicunt homines esse filium hominis id est Marie'. Et 'homo' equiuocatur. Vnde versus:

Christus virgo Sathan non iniustus fragilisque Est peccator homo simpliciterque notat.⁵⁸

Ouer rede by masse or bu say hym, ne pecces in accentu corripiendo producta vel econtraria. Vnde quidam:

Qui bene vult legere decet ante legenda videre, Nam legitur melius littera visa prius.

[fol. 19^v] Nota quod xxviij^o sunt pedes in versibus et in hympnis, que patent hic seriatim cum eorum exemplis.⁵⁹

- ⁵⁵ Johannes Balbus, *Catholicon*, *De accentu generali*: 'Adiacet autem accentus principaliter vni sillabe, quamuis secundum ipsum totalis dictio iudicetur'; and *Questiones circa accentum*: 'Item queritur quare tantum vnus accentus principalis debet esse vnius dictionis'. I quote the unpaginated edition printed at Strasbourg, between 1475 and 1477.
 - ⁵⁶ These remarks are either rhymed prose or very rough leonine verses.
- ⁵⁷ At least two works on homonyms (*equivoca*) were attributed to [Matthew] of Vendôme in the Middle Ages. The quotation does not come from the treatise in verse (incipit: 'Augustus ti to, Caesar vel mensis habeto'), which is the second part of a two-part verse treatise on synonyms and homonyms, sometimes titled *Enchiridion* (incipit: 'Ad mare ne videar latices deferre'). A more likely source is a treatise in prose, with copious mnemonic verses (incipit: 'Quia scire distinguere sophistarum ampullas reprimit'). I have not been able to consult a copy of this work, which, like the treatise in verse, also was attributed to John of Garland by medieval scribes. M. Hauréau discusses these texts and supports the attribution of the treatise in prose to John of Garland in Hauréau, *Notice sur les œuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande*. On the attribution of these works to Matthew of Vendôme, also see Faral, *Les Arts poétiques*, p. 6.
- 58 The meaning of the last sentence changes depending on where one pauses (or how one punctuates).
- ⁵⁹ The same twenty-eight metrical feet, with a few transpositions in the order, brief descriptions of each foot, and different examples, are listed near the end of John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria*: see John of Garland, *The 'Parisiana poetria*', ed. and trans. by Lawler, pp. 218, l.

Pirricheus: Fuge	Spondeus: prauos;	Trocheus: quere	<i>Iambus</i> : bonos.
Tribracus: Sequere	Molosus: virtutes,	Anapestis: fugientes	Dactilus: crimina.
Amfimacrus: Vilitas	Amfribracus: fugetur;	Bachius: honestas	Antebachus: sumatur. ⁶⁰
Procelleumaticus: Humilibus	Disspondeus: insistentes,	Distrocheus: obuiate	Disiambus: superbie.
Antipestis: Laborate	Coriambus: solicite,	Ionucus Maior: torpescere	Ionucus Minor: renuentes.
Epitritus: Honestates	Primus Peon: diligite;	Secundus Peon: requirite	Secundus Epitritus: puritates.
<i>Tercius Peon</i> : Cupienda	Tercius Epitritus: sectamini;	<i>Quartus Peon</i> : loquimini	<i>Quartus Epitritus</i> : collaudanda.

Exit origo rei: memor esto Johannis; Semper amicus ei sis in amore Dei.

Nomen scriptoris J. Longe: precibus rogo noris.⁶¹

Explicit et laus Deo.

Translation⁶²

There are three 'points' in reading: comma, colon, and period. Comma has one point and always is read upward. Colon has two and is read evenly. Period is at the end of the thought and is placed low, as in this collect: 'We beseech, O Lord, attend our prayers with heavenly piety' (behold a colon) 'so that we may see what should be done' (behold a comma) 'and gain the strength to fulfil what we have seen' (behold a period and the sentence is brought to an end).

19–220, l. 21. Lawler notes that the list, like the one that follows it, occurs in only one of the six manuscripts on which his edition is based and may not be by John of Garland (p. 273). Since the manuscript in question (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm 6911) dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (p. xx), this grouping was extant long before it found its way into the present compendium.

⁶⁰ MS: simatur.

 $^{^{61}}$ That is, 'noueris' ('noris pro noueris' is cited as an example of 'sincopa' on fol. 65^{v} of the same manuscript).

 $^{^{62}}$ For the benefit of those not conversant in Middle English, I have modernized the passages in the vernacular as well as translated those in Latin.

A good reader will look at the word beforehand and then he will read well. Whence Master John of Garland: 'Let one who is reading unfamiliar materials run through what he reads with a watchful little eye and endeavour to raise his ready voice from time to time and with an alternate sound to descend cautiously. The reader is blamed if the reading is not previewed, and a reading that has been seen beforehand is read more readily'.

Every question shall be read upward in the final syllable of the last word, as here: 'What did you go into the desert to see?' etc. Whence the verses: 'The voice of one asking always will exhibit an acute accent at the end: thus will I provide a secure lesson'.

There is only one accent in each word. Whence the author, in the *Catholicon*: 'Each word has a principal accent'. Hence, they are to be blamed who read too slowly and fastidiously, putting the accent on almost every syllable, like nuns and their emulators.

In all kinds of reading pause at the right places. Therefore, do not rest between the adjective and the substantive it modifies, the noun and the genitive modifying it, nor between the preposition and its object, because a bad pause obscures comprehension. The Son of Man is always the son of the Virgin Mary in Holy Scripture. Whence [Matthew] of Vendôme in the *Homonyms*: 'Whom men say is the Son of Man, that is, of Mary'. And 'man' is ambiguous. Whence the verses: 'Christ a virgin Satan not unjust and frail is a sinner man and simply observes'.

Read over your mass before you say it, lest you go wrong by shortening a long accent or vice versa. Whence someone: 'One who wishes to read well should look at the reading beforehand, for the previewed letter is read the better'.

Note that there are twenty-eight feet in verses and hymns, which appear here in sequence with their examples. [see table in edition, above]⁶³

Here the source of this material takes his leave: remember John; may you always be his friend in God's love.

The writer's name is J<ohn> Longe: I ask you to acknowledge him in your prayers. The end, and praise be to God.

⁶³ I have not translated the table of metrical feet, since the names are technical terms and the examples apply only in the original Latin. However, as my punctuation of the Latin text indicates, each line of examples forms a four-word moral exhortation. For the benefit of those interested in this added dimension of the teaching, I provide a translation below.

Flee the evil; seek out the good. | Pursue virtues while fleeing faults. | Let baseness be fled; led honourableness be taken up. | While pursuing the humble, resist pride. | Work busily, refusing to grow idle. | Love the honourable; search for the pure. | Strive after what should be desired; say what should be praised.

Appendix 4: Analysis of Poetria nova's Contents

London, BL, MS Royal 12.E.xi (Lr2)

Edition

[fol. 52^r] Liber iste diuiditur in prohemium et tractatum. In prohemio tria in generali facit. Primo captat beneuolenciam domini pape vbi dicit 'Papa stupor mundi' et cetera (*PN*, l. 1). Preparat docilitatem cum dicit 'breue⁶⁴ corpore' (*PN*, l. 42). Suscitat attencionem cum dicit 'viribus amplum' (*PN*, l. 42).

Tractatus iste in sex partes suscipit sexionem, videlicet in quinque partes essenciales retorice et in exitum operis. Prima pars inuencio est, quam docet auctor inuenire sic. Prius excogitare quid conuenia[n]t in materia rei agende, quia in cogitando inuenimus quid conueniens 65 et ydoneum 66 sit materie proposite. Et incipit hec pars ibi: 'Si quis habet fundare domum, $[fol. 52^v]$ non currat ad actum' (PN, 1. 43). Secundo docet materiam inuentam per cogitacionem ornari tam in primo, in medio et in fine. Et incipit hec pars ibi: 'Mentis in archano cum rem digesserit ordo' (PN, 1. 60). Tercio docet octo vicia per quamdam similitudinem pen[n]itus euitare, scilicet incipere nimium a [a] remotis, incipere turgide et inflate, obscuram breuitatem, prodigialem[n]0 variacionem, inutilem digressionem, inutilem conclusionem, inutilem materie parcium disposi[s]1 cionem, stilorum mutacionem. Et incipit ibi: 'Carminis ingressus, quasi verna facetus, honeste' (PN, 1. 71).

Secunda pars est disposicio, et diuiditur hec pars in duas partes. Prima pars agit de disposi[s]cione quoad principium materie, secunda pars de prosecucione siue progressu materie. Prima pars incipit ibi: 'Ordo bifurcat eum iter: cum limite nititur artis' (PN, l. 87). Secunda pars incipit ibi: 'Principio varium dedit ars prescripta tenorem' (PN, l. 203). In prima parte diuiditur ordo incipiendi in ordinem naturalem et artificialem. Ordo artificialis diuiditur in octo membra et cuiuslibet membri ponitur exemplum in littera. Secunda pars huius capituli diuiditur in duas partes, in quarum prima agitur de modis continuandi materiam sequentem principium ad ipsum principium. Et in secunda parte huius secundi capituli agitur de octo modis prolongandi materiam, scilicet de interpretacione, circumlocucione, comparacione, apostraphacione cum sex eius exemplis, prosopopeia cum quinque exemplis, digressione cum vnico exemplo, descripcione cum septem exemplis et

⁶⁴ MS: breui

⁶⁵ MS: conueniant.

⁶⁶ MS: ydomeum.

⁶⁷ MS: prodigialiter.

loco [fol. 53^r] oppositorum⁶⁸ cum exemplis suis, vt patet in littera. Et hec secunda pars <incipit> ibi: 'In principio triplici, triplici<a> compagine pacta'.⁶⁹ Et durat usque ad terciam partem eiusdem capituli,⁷⁰ que pars incipit ibi: 'Si breuis esse velis, prius ista priora rescinde' (*PN*, l. 690). Et in ista docentur 7 modi breuiandi materiam cum exemplo de illis. Et durat usque ad finem huius capituli.

Tercia pars huius tractatus, scilicet elocucio, incipit ibi: 'Si<t> breuis aut longus, se semper sermo colore<t>' (PN, l. 737).

Quarta pars rethorice, scilicet memoria, incipit ibi: 'Cellula que meminit est cella deliciarum' (*PN*, l. 1972).

Quinta pars rethorice, scilicet pronunciacio, incipit ibi: 'In resitante sonent <t>res lingue: prima sit oris, / Altera rethorici vultus et tercia gestus' (*PN*, ll. 2031–32). Exitus operis incipit ibi: 'Iam mare transcurri, Gades in littore fixi' (*PN*, l. 2066).

Translation

This book is divided into a prologue and a treatise. In the prologue it does three things in general. First it secures the good will of the lord pope when it says 'Pope, wonder of the world', etc. It prepares docility when it says 'small in body'. It arouses attention when it says 'great in strength'.

The treatise can be divided into six parts, namely the five essential parts of rhetoric and the conclusion of the work. The first part is invention, which the author teaches us to invent as follows. First, think about what fits the subject matter of the topic to be treated, for in thinking we discover what is fitting and appropriate for the subject matter before us. And this part begins here: 'If someone would build a house, [his hand] does not rush to the act'. Second he teaches to adorn the discovered subject matter thoughtfully in the beginning, the middle, and the end. And this part begins here: 'When order has arranged the matter in the inner recesses of the mind'. Third he teaches by means of a comparison to avoid completely the eight vices, namely beginning from too far away, a turgid and inflated beginning, obscure brevity, outlandish variation, useless digression, useless conclusion, useless arrangement of the parts of the subject matter, a change of styles. And it begins here: 'The poem's beginning, like a gentle servant, decently'.

The second part is arrangement, and this part is divided into two parts. The first part treats arrangement with respect to the beginning of the subject matter,

⁶⁸ MS: appositorum.

 $^{^{69}}$ Apparently the reference is to an interpolated line, but see PN, l. 134.

 $^{^{70}}$ The annotator appears to have forgotten his previous assertion that the chapter has two parts.

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the second part the continuation or the progression of the subject matter. The first part begins here: 'The order divides its route in two directions: it advances along the path of art'. The second part begins here: 'The art that has just been written about provided a variable course for the beginning'. In the first part the order of beginning is divided into natural and artificial order. Artificial order is divided into eight members and an example of each member is put in the text. The second part of this chapter is divided into two parts, in the first of which are treated the methods of continuing the subject matter following the beginning to the beginning itself. And in the second part of this second chapter are treated the eight methods of extending the subject matter, namely saying the same thing in different ways, circumlocution, comparison, apostrophe with its six examples, personification with five examples, digression with a single example, description with seven examples, and the topos of opposites with its examples, as is evident in the text. And this second part begins here: 'In a triple beginning, join together triple agreements'. And it lasts until the third part of the same chapter, which part begins here: 'If you wish to be brief, first cut away the previous things'. And in this one are taught the seven methods of shortening the subject matter with an example of them. And it lasts until the end of this chapter.

The third part of this treatise, namely style, begins here: 'Be it long or short, let the discourse always colour itself'.

The fourth part of rhetoric, namely memory, begins here: 'The little cell that remembers is a cell of delights'.

The fifth part of rhetoric, namely delivery, begins here: 'In reciting let three tongues resound: let the first be that of the mouth, the second that of the rhetorician's face, and the third that of gesture'.

The conclusion of the work begins here: 'Now I have crossed the sea, I have fixed my Cadiz on the shore'.

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PROGYMNASMATA AND PROGYMNASMATIC EXERCISES IN THE MEDIEVAL CLASSROOM

Manfred Kraus

In ancient Greek and Roman education, the graded set of exercises in rhetoric and composition known as *progymnasmata* (preliminary exercises) played a pivotal role. Within the ancient educational curriculum, the *progymnasmata* were located precisely at the transitional stage from grammar to rhetoric; their primary task was thus to provide a smooth passage from the reading and analysis of poetry as they were practised in grammar school to rhetorical education proper. These were basically written exercises, but occasionally they were also delivered orally. Their specific aim was to prepare beginners in rhetoric for the more advanced exercise of oral declamation.

In its most popular version, the one devised by Aphthonius, a fifth-century rhetor from Antioch in Syria (which is now Antakya in the south of modern Turkey), the series of *progymnasmata* consisted of fourteen exercises, namely 1) fable, 2) narration, 3) *chreia* (anecdote), 4) maxim, 5) refutation, 6) confirmation, 7) commonplace, 8) praise (encomium), 9) blame (vituperation), 10) comparison, 11) *ethopoeia* (speech in character), 12) description, 13) thesis, and 14) proposal of a law. This sequence clearly followed a deliberate pattern, leading from the easiest through to increasingly difficult and demanding exercises. Each task built successively on the skills learned in the preceding tasks, so that while the tasks became progressively more difficult, the particular exercise at any one stage was still within the capabilities of the student. This sequential process gave each task its special value, and the entire sequence was preparation for entry into the world of civic oratory.

Whereas in the Greek East the ancient system of education persisted in a more or less unbroken tradition until the fall of Constantinople and the *progymnasmata*, and Aphthonius in particular, were undoubtedly highly influential in

Byzantine education, things appear to have been much more difficult in the Latin West. For in the West the educational system suffered a veritable breakdown in the transitional period from late antiquity to the Middle Ages. The question of how much of the ancient set of *progymnasmata* eventually passed into the medieval classroom is still a hotly disputed issue. This chapter will try to shed at least some new light on various aspects of this controversy. The first part of the chapter will deal with possible sources of transmission, involving some discussion of manuscript tradition. In the second section, hypotheses about a persistence of progymnasmatic elements in various medieval genres such as the *accessus ad auctores* or the *artes poetriae* or *artes dictaminis* will be discussed and critically reviewed. In the final section, some pieces of evidence for a practical use of *progymnasmata*-like exercises in medieval classrooms will be examined.

Sources of Transmission

In the quest for possible sources of transmission of information about the ancient progymnasmata to the Middle Ages, the obvious candidate, seemingly, is Priscian, for in the sixth century the grammarian from Caesarea translated a Greek progymnasmata manual (erroneously attributed to Hermogenes) into Latin. As Priscian's Institutiones grammaticae was an authoritative text on grammar in the Middle Ages, it would seem only natural to assume that his Praeexercitamina should also have had a sustainable reverberation in that period. This is indeed what a great many scholars believe, among them Ernst Robert Curtius, who states: 'The significance of Priscian's Praeexercitamina lies in the fact that, as a supplement to his grammar, they brought the Latin Middle Ages the elements of Greek rhetorical theory.' Similar assertions have been made by, among others, Donald L. Clark, Wesley Trimpi, Carol D. Lanham, and Alexandru Cizek. Clark's grossly exaggerated statement that of Priscian's works 'in the neighborhood of 1000 manuscripts survive', only 'some of [which] do not include the elementary exercises in

¹ See, for example, Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, p. 58; and Ward, 'Rhetoric and the Art of *Dictamen*', p. 30.

² Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. by Trask, p. 442; 'Die Bedeutung von Priscians Praeexercitamina liegt darin, daß sie als Ergänzung seiner Grammatik die Elemente der griechischen rhetorischen Theorie dem lateinischen Mittelalter zuleiteten', Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, p. 440; see also pp. 167–68.

³ Clark, 'Rhetoric and the Literature of the English Middle Ages', p. 24; Trimpi, 'The Quality of Fiction'; Lanham, 'Freshman Composition', pp. 127–30; and Cizek, *Imitatio et tractatio*, pp. 245–46.

rhetoric, has even misled so circumspect a scholar as John O. Ward to believe in a 'prolific survival of Priscian's translation of Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata*. But on the other hand, there is also the warning voice of James J. Murphy who states that in medieval times 'there seems to be little trace of this book.

To be able to assess more appropriately and more accurately the influence of Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* on the Middle Ages, we need to look at the manuscript situation. Marina Passalacqua's magisterial work on the codices of Priscian, twice updated by Colette Jeudy, and again in Passalacqua's 1987 edition of Priscian's *Opuscula*, has yielded a list of forty-five manuscripts containing the text of the *Praeexercitamina*. This looks like an impressive list, but considering the fact that the total number of codices containing works by Priscian is about 780, only around 5.8 per cent of all Priscian manuscripts contain the *Praeexercitamina*. Yet even more surprising is the chronological distribution of manuscripts, which produces the following schedule (provenances of manuscripts are added in parentheses where they are identifiable):

saec. viii: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 7530 (Monte Cassino)

saec. ix: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 339 (1332) (Einsiedeln) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. Lat. O 12 (France) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. Lat. Q 33 (Western France)

> Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, MS Hr. 4,22 a-b (Fulda) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm. 18375

(Western Germany)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 7496 (St Germain d'Auxerre)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 7498 (St Amand)

⁴ Clark, 'Rhetoric and the Literature of the English Middle Ages', p. 24.

⁵ Ward, 'Artificiosa eloquentia in the Middle Ages', 1, 399. For his comments on BnF, MS lat. 7530, to be discussed below, see Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', pp. 12–17.

⁶ Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 131.

⁷ Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*; Jeudy, 'Complément à un catalogue récent des manuscrits de Priscien'; Jeudy, 'Nouveau complément à un catalogue récent des manuscrits de Priscien'; Priscian, *Opuscula*, ed. by Passalacqua, 1: *De figuris numerorum*, *De metris Terentii*, *Praeexercitamina*, pp. xxix–xxx.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 7501 (Corbie) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 7504 (Loire?) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds latin 9539 (Eastern France)

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 337 (Western Germany)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Guelferbyt. 64 Gud. Lat. 2° (Lyon region)

saec. x: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 338 (1321) (Einsiedeln)
Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. Lat. F 67
(ager Remensis)
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm. 280 a

(Southwestern Germany)

saec. x–xi: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS O 32 (1470) (Northern France) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1709 (France?)

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1783 (France?)

saec. xi: Barcelona, Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 42 (260) (Ripoll)

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. Lat. O 15 xi (Angoulême)

Private collection; formerly (until 1988) New York, Coll. H. P. Kraus, MS 5 (France)

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 733.1 (Loire)

saec. xii: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 4952 (Eastern France)

saec. xiii: -

saec. xiv: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS S. Marco 264 (?)

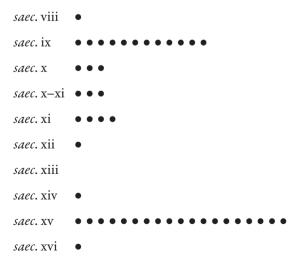
saec. xv: Belluno, Biblioteca Lolliniana, MS 24 (?)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. fol. 651
(Italy)

Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 78 (Bruges)
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 37,25 (?)

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 38,21 (Italy) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 47,1 (Italy) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II VII 155 (Italv) London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 127 (?) London, British Library, MS Burney 134 (?) Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS Q 35 sup. (?) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm. 3941 (?) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 720 (Italy) San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 27 (Italy) Schloß Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, MS II 1.4°.33 (?) Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS C 927 (?) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 306 (Italy) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 1180 (Italy) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 1485 (Italy) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Lat. 199 (Italy)

saec. xvi: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 656 (?)

The decisive point of this list is even more salient when the data are more clearly laid out in the following diagrammatic pattern:



There are clearly two prominent peaks: the first is in the ninth century, and the second is in the fifteenth century. The latter peak is easily explicable by the renewed interest in the *progymnasmata* aroused by the import of Greek texts of such manuals by Byzantine émigrés in that period and the generally growing interest in genuine antique works. Its abrupt falling off in the sixteenth century may be due to the appearance of printed editions in the years from 1470 onwards. The earlier peak of course coincides with what is called the Carolingian Renaissance. There appears to have been at least a moderate interest in the *Praeexercitamina* in the later Carolingian period. This period was also characterized by a new interest in Cicero's *rhetorica* and in rhetoric generally. The interest in the *Praeexercitamina*, however, as we shall see shortly, may probably have been of grammatical rather than rhetorical origin.

What is really striking, however, is the complete breakdown of transmission of the *Praeexercitamina* in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, that is, exactly in the period of renewed interest in rhetoric in which one would expect them to be most likely to be influential. This again tells against the idea of a considerable medieval interest in the *progymnasmata* as rhetorical exercises. This also makes it rather unlikely that the famous (now lost) Priscian manuscript that was ordered from Fulbert of Chartres by Bonipert of Pécs (Bonibertus of Fünfkirchen) in 1023 may have contained a copy of the *Praeexercitamina*. Library catalogues, moreover, do not particularly support a broader dissemination of Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* in the High Middle Ages either. 11

A closer look tells us even more. As Gabriele Knappe has observed, in the manuscripts that precede the great caesura, the *Praeexercitamina* are most often combined with grammatical treatises (Leiden, BR, MS Voss. Lat. O 12; MS Voss. Lat. Q 33; München, BSB, MS clm. 18375; Paris, BnF, MS lat. 7496; MS lat. 7498; MS lat. 7501; MS lat. 7504; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, MS Guelferbyt. 64 Gud. Lat. 2°). Among the texts that most frequently go with the *Praeexercitamina* are Rufinus's *Commentarius in metra Terentiana* and the *Carmen de ponderibus et mensuris*. Hence, since more often than not Priscian's three minor works *De*

⁸ On printed editions, see Gibson, 'The Collected Works of Priscian'.

⁹ See Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance'.

¹⁰ See Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems*, ed. and trans. by Behrends, pp. 148–49; for a similarly sceptical view (for different reasons) see Nemerkényi, 'Latin Grammar in the Cathedral School', p. 45.

¹¹ See Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*, pp. 309 and 316.

¹² Knappe, Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik, pp. 124–25.

figuris numerorum, De metris Terentii, and Praeexercitamina appear as a joint group in manuscripts of that period, ¹³ one may be permitted to speculate that in a number of cases the primary reason why the triad was included may have been not the Praeexercitamina, but the De figuris numerorum or the De metris Terentii, so that the Praeexercitamina may only have been copied along with the two others as part of the triad. In nine manuscripts up to the twelfth century, the triad even appears alongside the Institutiones grammaticae. This should, on the one hand, have been favourable to their transmission as well as to their impact on classroom education, but on the other hand, it again links them more firmly with grammar than with rhetoric.

As early as in late antiquity, contrary to Quintilian's fierce advocacy of a primarily rhetorical treatment (*Institutio oratoria*, I.9.6; II.1.4–13), ¹⁴ the *progymnasmata* had largely withdrawn to grammar schools. Augustine, for instance, testifies to this. In his *Confessions* (I.13 and 17), he reports that in his schooldays he practised even advanced *progymnasmata* in a grammarian's classroom. ¹⁵

In sharp contrast with this, in the manuscripts that postdate the remarkable thirteenth-century caesura, the *Praeexercitamina* are very often coupled with rhetorical treatises (Cicero's rhetorical works, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Consultus Fortunatianus's *Ars rhetorica* are now the most frequent bedfellows). An interesting case in this respect is also Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS C 927 (end of the fifteenth century), in which Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* are embedded into a collection of works and translations by Rudolph Agricola, including the latter's Latin translation of Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata*. By the fifteenth century, therefore, the original rhetorical context seems to have been firmly re-established, but this may already be due to the new kind of thinking of the early humanists, for the geographical centre of dissemination of the text

¹³ Manuscripts that contain the complete triad are marked by an asterisk in Priscian, *Opuscula*, ed. by Passalacqua, I, pp. xxix–xxx; see also p. xxxii.

¹⁴ Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae libri XII*, ed. by Radermacher and Buchheit, I, 56 and 71–73.

¹⁵ Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. by O'Donnell, 1, 10–11 and 13.

¹⁶ See Knappe, Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik, p. 125.

¹⁷ See Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, pp. 296–97.

¹⁸ Some manuscripts, however, still preserve a grammatical context, such as, most prominently, Firenze, BML, MS Plut. 47,1, once in the possession of Giovanni de' Medici, which presents the complete corpus of Priscian's works, coupled with Rufinus on metres and the *Carmen de ponderibus*; see Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, p. 67.

of the *Praeexercitamina* in this period is definitely Italy, where humanism was already deeply rooted in the fifteenth, and even the fourteenth century.

One manuscript, however, merits closer inspection, namely BnF, MS lat. 7530 — not only because it is the oldest manuscript, but also because in it the Praeexercitamina do appear in a rhetorical context. This parchment codex in Beneventan script, most probably originating from the abbey of Monte Cassino and dated to the years 779-96 by Lowe, 19 provides a broad selection of texts related to the tradition of the artes liberales. 20 Priscian's text appears as the very last item (fols 259^v-265^r) within the section on rhetoric (fols 221^r-265^r), in which the longest piece is easily Consultus Fortunatianus's Ars rhetorica (fols 228^v-250^v), but there are also smaller fragmentary pieces from progymnasmatic contexts, such as Emporius's chapter on ethopoeia (fols 251^v-258^r)²¹ and anonymous passages on narration (fols 250°-251°), thesis (fols 258°-259°), and encomium (fol. 224^v), ²² the very last of which was recently identified by Ulrich Schindel as part of a third-century Latin translation of Theon's *Progymnasmata*.²³ If Schindel is right, then whoever compiled the rhetorical section of BnF, MS lat. 7530 must have had access to a very rare piece of ancient progymnasmatic tradition, yet he did not bother to copy it in its entirety (assuming it were not a fragment already), but only excerpted some scanty shreds.

Progymnasmatic background therefore seems obvious here. Lanham calls this 'a progymnasmata sequence'. But this — a sequence — is exactly what it is not; it is rather a sundry collection of scattered snippets. What is evident from this is that with the exception of Priscian's text, progymnasmatic material mostly appears in the form of torn and scattered incoherent pieces. As early as the eighth century, therefore, the artfully devised and graded system of twelve or fourteen exercises has been broken down into small isolated scraps. In view of the paramount importance of the graduated sequence of the exercises in the ancient progymnasmatic system, this indicates a veritable paradigm shift.

Most remarkably, practically all the manuscripts that antedate the thirteenthcentury divide stem from Western Germany or from France, that is, roughly speak-

¹⁹ See *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ed. by Lowe, v, 15 (no. 569); Brown, "Where Have All the Grammars Gone?", pp. 394–96.

²⁰ See Holtz, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 7530, synthèse cassinienne des arts libéraux'.

²¹ Text in *Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. by Halm, pp. 561–63.

²² Text in *Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. by Halm, p. 587, l. 10-p. 588, l. 16.

²³ Schindel, 'Ein unidentifiziertes "Rhetorik-Exzerpt".

²⁴ Lanham, 'Freshman Composition', p. 130.

²⁵ For details, see Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, p. 230.

ing, from the Carolingian core territories (including even MS Ripoll 42 [260], from the County of Barcelona, formerly the Spanish March²⁶). This emphasizes a possible connection with Carolingian educational reforms, and it also marks a notable contrast to the post-thirteenth-century situation, when Italy becomes the main centre. From that point of view, BnF, MS lat. 7530 from Monte Cassino is rather an odd exception. Passalacqua has therefore contemplated the possibility of assuming for it an archetype from the Carolingian area.²⁷ The collection is most probably associated with Paul the Deacon's activities in Monte Cassino and may thus reflect the *artes*-based programme for the education of political officials at Charlemagne's court in Aix-la-Chapelle, in which Paul was involved during his sojourn at the king's court from 782 to 787.²⁸ Paul's interest in grammar is unquestionable. But whether the ultimate origin of the collection was Frankish or after all Italian (Vivarium?), either it, or its model or descendants definitely had a decisive share in the court's educational programme and continued to be influential in some way or other in Frankish territory.

This interest in the grammarian Priscian in the early Middle Ages, the Golden Age of Grammar, would thus suggest that in that period the *Praeexercitamina* were not primarily considered rhetorical exercises, but rather convenient categories for literary criticism. This would also match with the fact that, in translating from the Greek original, Priscian replaced most of the examples from Greek literature with Latin ones, particularly passages from Virgil, Ovid, Terence, or Cicero, who were also the favourite poets and writers in medieval grammatical education, so that his text could have been felt to have a direct bearing upon the interpretation of those authors.

But if Priscian therefore cannot definitely be approached for knowledge of the *progymnasmata* as rhetorical exercises in the Middle Ages, what might constitute other possible sources of transmission? Isidore of Seville (sixth/seventh century), for instance, in his *Etymologiae* also mentions parts of the ancient system, namely *fabula*, *historia*, *sententia*, *chria*, *catasceua*, *anasceua*, *thesis*, *prosopopoeia*, and *ethopoeia*. ²⁹ Jacques Fontaine, Carol Lanham, and Alexandru Cizek have taken this as strong evidence for a broad stream of transmission of progymnasmatic mate-

²⁶ Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*, p. 10; the context is, exceptionally, rhetorical: Cicero, *De inventione* and Pseudo-Augustine, *De rhetorica*, along with some treatises on music.

²⁷ Priscian, *Opuscula*, ed. by Passalacqua, I, pp. xxiv–xxv.

²⁸ See Passalacqua, 'Il carmen de bonis sacerdotibus nel Par. Lat. 7530'; Villa, 'Cultura classica e tradizioni longobarde', pp. 580–87; and Brown, "Where Have All the Grammars Gone?", pp. 392–94.

²⁹ Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx*, ed. by Lindsay, 1.40–41; 11.11–15.

rial into the Middle Ages.³⁰ The definitions quoted by Isidore do indeed clearly betray a progymnasmatic source. Transcriptions of Greek terms might even point to a Greek background. But there is no hint of practical exercise in Isidore. Book I is headed 'Grammar' and Book II 'Rhetoric and Dialectic', but the treatment remains entirely theoretical; the context is style or argumentation rather than exercise. Isidore's treatment is in some ways similar to that of Sulpicius Victor (fourth century),³¹ who, in a paragraph on *thesis*, also speaks of *chreia*, *anaskeue* and *kataskeue*, *laus*, and *vituperatio*, 'discussion of laws' and 'common topic', but regards them all as subordinate elements of *thesis*. Finally, Martianus Capella also mentions *laus et vituperatio* in one passage,³² again not in a context of exercises, but with respect to the theory of *status* in the *genus demonstrativum*. Thus in Isidore, just as in Sulpicius Victor and Martianus, we observe the same fractionalizing tendency as in the fragments in BnF, MS lat. 7530.

Even less promising seems a theory first propounded by George Engelhardt, then seconded by Donald L. Clark and most recently by Alan Church, according to which Greek manuscripts of *progymnasmata* treatises would have been brought to the West and to Anglo-Saxon England as early as the seventh century by Theodore of Tarsus, who was to become head of the cathedral school of Canterbury.³³ This theory has met with strenuous criticism from Knappe, who points out that Theodore exclusively used Latin for his teaching in the West.³⁴

Possible Traces of Progymnasmatic Elements in Medieval Genres

Let us now turn to possible survivals of ancient progymnasmatic elements in various medieval genres of pedagogical or related texts. In this context we will have to deal with various hypotheses that have been propounded by scholars in the twentieth century.

³⁰ Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique*, pp. 261–68 and 271–73; Lanham, 'Freshman Composition', p. 129; and Cizek, *Imitatio et tractatio*, p. 246.

³¹ Sulpicius Victor, *Institutio oratoria*, ed. by Halm, p. 314, l. 24–p. 315, l. 4 (§3).

³² Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. by Willis, v.468 (p. 164); see also Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, p. 53.

³³ Engelhardt, 'Beowulf: A Study in Dilatation', p. 829; Clark, 'Rhetoric and the Literature of the English Middle Ages', p. 24; and Church, 'Beowulf's "ane ben" and the Rhetorical Context of the "Hunferb Episode".

³⁴ See Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, pp. 407–08 and 420–22; and Knappe, 'Beowulf and Aphthonios?'.

We will begin with one of the most long-standing hypotheses. In the year 1911 the Polish scholar Gustaw Przychocki ventured the idea that the list of standard issues treated in the medieval accessus ad auctores, that is, the famous series of 'Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?' (Who, what, where, by what means, why, how, when?), as quoted for instance by Matthew of Vendôme, 35 might ultimately derive from the list of circumstantiae (constitutive elements) of a narrative that are often enumerated in instructions for the progymnasmatic exercise of narration, and which later writers would have adapted for their needs to the form of the accessus.³⁶ Yet, as early as 1945, Edwin Quain observed that Przychocki's conclusions were 'open to serious doubt', and his theory was 'the result of a considerable over-simplification of the issues at stake'.³⁷ Quain rightly pointed out that the series of set questions addressed by a standard accessus evokes the topics treated in the numerous Prolegomena (introductions) to ancient *progymnasmata* treatises, ³⁸ rather than anything within those treatises themselves, and that rhetoricians may ultimately have borrowed this standardized form of introduction from Greek philosophical commentators.³⁹ Admittedly, as Quain was well aware, these *Prolegomena* are of course also Greek and for that reason not very likely to have been of any direct influence on medieval Latin accessus. 40 But recently Michael Lapidge and Gabriele Knappe have demonstrated that in glossing the Bible, Theodore of Tarsus and Hadrian in seventh-century Canterbury do indeed follow an eight-step accessus programme that very probably stems from the *Prolegomena* to Aphthonius. 41 Compared with this, the faint similarity of the accessus with the circumstantiae narrationis would appear to be nothing more than an incidental parallel.

Another suggestion concerns the tripartite taxonomy of species of narration (true, false, as if true) which is often found in medieval grammars or *artes*, and which corresponds with definitions given in the first two exercises of the ancient progymnasmatic sequence (fable and narration). But this triadic distinction is also

³⁵ Matthew of Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria*, ed. by Faral, p. 150 (§116). See also Marius Victorinus, *Explanationes in Ciceronis rhetoricam*, ed. by Ippolito, p. 94 (on Cicero, *De inventione*, 1.21).

³⁶ Przychocki, 'Accessus Ovidiani', pp. 108–16.

³⁷ Quain, 'The Medieval *Accessus ad auctores*', pp. 228 and 256.

³⁸ Collected in *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. by Rabe.

³⁹ Quain, 'The Medieval Accessus ad auctores', pp. 256-64.

⁴⁰ Quain, 'The Medieval Accessus ad auctores', p. 263.

⁴¹ See *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. by Bischoff and Lapidge, p. 261; and Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik*, pp. 215–17; and Knappe, 'Beowulf and Aphthonios?', pp. 126–27.

part of classical rhetoric. It can be found under the heading of the 'tertium genus narrationis' (third species of narration) in Cicero, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Quintilian. ⁴² Lucia Calboli Montefusco may be right in suggesting recently that basic aspects of this distinction, which contains in itself the nucleus of the entire Western theory of narrative and fiction, may ultimately derive from a progymnasmatic context, ⁴³ but it would seem evident that, as for its medieval appearances, this taxonomy could much more easily have been transmitted directly via classical 'Ciceronian' rhetoric, or through pivotal disseminators such as Martianus Capella or Isidore of Seville, ⁴⁴ and that in this context any appeal to late antique *progymnasmata* treatises would rather involve a gratuitous detour.

More solid ground seems to be gained when it comes to the high medieval artes poetriae. These 'arts of poetry and prose', as they also might be called, 45 appear to take up progymnasmata-like elements at various compositional stages. This is true, for example, for Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Poetria nova and Documentum as well as for the Laborintus of Eberhard the German and the Parisiana poetria of John of Garland. The two most frequently recommended ways for beginning a composition, for instance, are exemplum and proverb, 46 and these two items strongly resemble chreia and maxim, the third and fourth exercises within the traditional progymnasmatic sequence. Furthermore, in their treatment of the development of the subject matter, the artes poetriae usually offer a list of mostly eight modes of amplification or dilatation, among which are regularly found comparison, prosopopoeia, and description. 47 This led George Engelhardt to assume 'that the theory which they now subserve evolved in some measure from the praeexercitamina of the ancient schools, transmitted by Priscian to the Middle Ages'. 48 In fact, the

⁴² Cicero, De inventione, 1.27; Rhetorica ad Herennium, 1.12; Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, 11.4.2.

⁴³ Calboli Montefusco, 'Cic. Inv. 1.27 and Rhet. Her. 1.12 f.'.

⁴⁴ Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, v.550 (context: 'De rhetorica') (p. 193); Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx*, ed. by Lindsay, 1.44 (context: 'De grammatica'). The same distinction appears in Alcuin, *Grammatica*, ed. by Migne, col. 858D.

⁴⁵ See Kelly, *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁶ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ed. by Faral, ll. 126–202 (pp. 201–03); Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum*, ed. by Faral, 11.1 (pp. 268–71); John of Garland, *The 'Parisiana poetria'*, ed. and trans. by Lawler, p. 58; see also Faral, *Les Arts poétiques*, pp. 58–59.

⁴⁷ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ed. by Faral, Il. 219–689 (pp. 204–18); Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum*, ed. by Faral, II.2.A (pp. 271–77); Eberhard the German, *Laborintus*, ed. by Faral, Il. 303–36 (pp. 347–48); and John of Garland, *The 'Parisiana poetria'*, ed. and trans. by Lawler, pp. 72–78; see also Faral, *Les Arts poétiques*, pp. 61–85.

⁴⁸ Engelhardt, 'Medieval Vestiges in the Rhetoric of Erasmus', p. 741; see also Cizek,

position of the *artes poetriae* within the medieval curriculum was quite similar to that of the ancient *progymnasmata*. Both were meant to be taught at the very point of transition from the interpretation of poetry to the actual composition of texts in verse or prose. And since the instructions on amplification usually follow immediately upon the passages about ways of beginning, at a superficial glance even the ancient sequence of exercises seems to be roughly preserved. But on closer inspection the logic that underlies both sequences turns out to be absolutely different: in the *artes poetriae* it follows the sequence of parts of a speech or composition rather than an assignation to oratorical genres, let alone a gradation in complexity. There is no sign whatsoever that Geoffrey or the other authors were guiding their students through a meticulously graded series of progressively complex tasks. And the theory that underlies those modes of dilatation was clearly grammatical rather than rhetorical. Most authors of *artes poetriae* were in fact grammar masters.

Moreover, in his study of the sources of the *Poetria nova*, Ernest Gallo has convincingly demonstrated how everything that was needed was in fact easily available from the *De inventione*, or the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, or, with some reservations, from Quintilian, ⁴⁹ a fact even Engelhardt had partly acknowledged himself, ⁵⁰ so that, again, the cumbersome explanatory recourse to the ancient *progymnasmata* was simply not necessary. Description, for instance (*Poetria nova*, II. 554–667), is explained in *Ad Herennium*, III.10–11, IV.51, and IV.63–69, in *De inventione*, I.34–36, and in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, VIII.3.61–71 and IX.2.40–44. Even if it is true that bits and pieces of the *progymnasmata* did penetrate works such as *Ad Herennium*, *De inventione*, and — most naturally — Quintilian, this does not necessarily mean that medieval writers were in any way aware of the fact that they were ultimately borrowing from progymnasmatic material.

Even so peculiar a feature as Geoffrey's theory of *conversio*, by which a formulation is systematically varied and dilated, for instance by making a noun appear consecutively in any possible grammatical case and number,⁵¹ might remind one of a similar purely grammatical mode of treatment of some of the most basic *pro-*

Imitatio et tractatio, pp. 130-48.

⁴⁹ Gallo, The 'Poetria Nova' and its Sources, pp. 160-88 and 227-28.

⁵⁰ Engelhardt, 'Medieval Vestiges in the Rhetoric of Erasmus', p. 741: 'They stem, for the most part, from the ancient and anonymous *De ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium*.'

⁵¹ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ed. by Faral, Il. 1588–1708 (pp. 245–49); Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum*, ed. by Faral, II.3.107–09 (pp. 304–05). See also Martin Camargo 'What Goes with Geoffrey of Vinsauf?: Codicological Clues to Pedagogical Practices in England, *c*. 1225–*c*. 1470', this volume, pp. 145–74, esp. Appendix 2 (pp. 160–65).

gymnasmata, which is addressed particularly in earlier treatises such as that of Aelius Theon (most probably first century CE), and which is called 'declension' (klisis, declinatio). ⁵² Nonetheless, it is highly unlikely that Geoffrey's conversio is derived directly from that source. Since Theon was hardly known at all to the Middle Ages, a source such as Diomedes the grammarian, who describes and demonstrates exactly the same type of exercise, is definitely much more likely. ⁵³

Let us now, finally, look at evidence from the ars dictaminis. In two papers, Lanham has vigorously tried to make a case for the theory that progymnasmata in general, and *ethopoeia* in particular, were actual precursors of the *ars dictaminis* and were in fact also used for teaching letter writing.⁵⁴ Her argument, however, is based on the assumption of a fairly broad stream of transmission of progymnasmata into the Middle Ages, involving not only Priscian, but also all the other pieces from BnF, MS lat. 7530, and on an alleged ancient association of ethopoeia with epistolography. The evidence for this is, however, very meagre. It consists of only two perfunctory remarks about letters made in passing in the respective chapters on ethopoeia in the progymnasmata manuals by authors from such different periods as Theon (first century) and Nicolaus of Myra (fifth century CE).⁵⁵ A stronger point for a late ancient association of ethopoeia with letter writing might at best be made, if Malcolm Heath were right in radically redating Theon to the fifth century,⁵⁶ which would link him more closely with Nicolaus.⁵⁷ In sum, I could hardly put it any better than Martin Camargo does in the following passage, which I quote in lieu of a résumé:

Explicit references to letters are few in the surviving collections of Latin *progymnasmata*, and there is little textual evidence that the *progymnasmata* survived as a coherent, ordered sequence outside Byzantium during most of the middle ages. Individual exercises that resemble one or another of the progymnasmatic exercises continued to appear in medieval pedagogical texts, but their presence does not necessarily indicate that the larger program or the functions of those exercises within such a program have been preserved.⁵⁸

⁵² Theon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. by Patillon, pp. 24–26.

⁵³ Diomedes, *Artis grammaticae libri III*, ed. by Keil, p. 310, ll. 1–29.

⁵⁴ Lanham, 'Freshman Composition', pp. 120–22 and 127–30; Lanham, 'Writing Instruction from Late Antiquity to the Twelfth Century', pp. 110–13.

⁵⁵ Theon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. by Patillon, p. 70; Nicolaus of Myra, *Progymnasmata*, ed. by Felten, p. 67, ll. 2–9.

⁵⁶ Heath, 'Theon and the History of the Progymnasmata', pp. 141–58.

 $^{^{\}rm 57}$ This was suggested to me in conversation by Carol Poster, York University, Toronto.

⁵⁸ Camargo, 'The Pedagogy of the *Dictatores*', p. 68. In a conversation after the delivery

Camargo's last observation is essential. What gets lost from *progymnasmata* in the transition to the Middle Ages is the coherence of the ordered sequence of progressively difficult tasks. What remains is isolated elements that have mostly been transformed in character and function from practical exercises to categories of literary criticism or compositional method. But this does not preclude that similar types of exercises were also practised in medieval times.

Progymnasmatic Exercises in the Medieval Classroom

This brings us to our final point: the evidence for progymnasmata-like exercises in medieval classrooms. There can be little doubt that compositional exercises similar in character and complexity to their precursors within the ancient progymnasmatic system were widely practised in the Middle Ages. We hear about such exercises as early as the Carolingian period, in the grammatical teachings of Alcuin and Martin Scottus of Laon. 59 With respect to rhetorical exercises from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, Pierre Riché writes: 'Les élèves s'exercent à composer des petits devoirs en prose et en vers qui rappellent les exercices préparatoires (praeexercitamina) conseillés par Priscien' ('Students exercise themselves in composing little assignments in prose and verse that are reminiscent of the preliminary exercises [praeexercitamina] commended by Priscian'). 60 Riché chooses his words very carefully: 'qui rappellent' ('that are reminiscent'). And he continues: 'Notker Labeo fait composer des dictamina par les élèves de Saint-Gall. Ce sont des petits poèmes dont le sujet est profane ou religieux et qui devaient être faits chaque jour. [...] Ekkehard les a rassemblés et les a utilises pour ses propres élèves' ('Notker Labeo makes his pupils at Saint-Gall compose dictamina. These are little poems on subjects profane and religious, which had to be composed daily. [...] Ekkehard collected them and used them for his own pupils'). 61 Dictamen is here clearly used to designate exercises in poetry.

This example shows that terms like *dictamen* or *praeexercitamen* can no longer be taken at face value, but may display various and very changeable meanings, so that nothing can be deduced from their employment. Even the composition

of the present paper at the Sydney Conference, Martin Camargo admitted that he had in fact written the passage quoted here after a discussion he had had with myself on the same issue, which would make my citation of Camargo's text here a kind of indirect self-quotation.

- ⁵⁹ Alcuin, *Grammatica*, ed. by Migne, cols 857–58; Martinet, 'Les Arts libéraux à Laon'.
- 60 Riché, Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Âge, p. 255.
- ⁶¹ Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Âge*, p. 255.

of lives of saints (in poetry or prose) can now be regarded as a *praeexercitamen*: in the ninth century, Milo of Saint Amand calls his Life of Saint Amand a 'praeexercitamen [...] ingenioli mei' ('a preliminary exercise of my little talent'), and Walther of Speyer in the late tenth century has his *Life of Christophorus* corrected as an exam paper by his teacher.⁶² At the same time, the teaching methods of Burchard of Worms at Worms cathedral school are described in his *Life* as follows: 'he firmly instructed each pupil, according to his ability, to present to him every day a carefully prepared recitation or written work. [...] [T]hey were not afraid to offer him their speeches and letters and various written questions ("sermones et epistolas quaestiunculasque varias")'.⁶³ Letter writing is here firmly established as a written exercise, but there is no allusion to an ancient tradition.

Most famous of all is, of course, John of Salisbury's account of the teaching of his master Bernard of Chartres. There John also speaks of *praeexercitamina* in both prose and verse, for which Bernard would regularly present to pupils model poems and speeches for imitation. Thierry of Chartres, in his glosses on the *Ad Herennium*, again mentions *dictamina*, on which expression Ward comments: It probably refers not to epistolography, but to *artes poetriae*-type composition, probably still in the grammar school'. With reference to the *Metalogicon* passage, Ward explains the *dictamina* as 'composition exercises that must have been, from the examples given, poetic'. This demonstrates that by now exercises in prose and verse composition go closely, if not inseparably, with one another and may be referred to by the same appellations.

But, as the example of Bernard of Chartres also demonstrates, what is of paramount importance is imitation. For this purpose, model text readers were developed in which particularly fine 'masterpieces' were collected. One of the main

⁶² See Walter, 'Opus geminum', pp. 67 and 76; and Cizek, Imitatio et tractatio, p. 249 n. 91.

⁶³ Vita Burchardi episcopi Wormatiensis, ed. by Waitz, Chap. 18 (pp. 840–41): 'Ad haec quippe, ut unusquisque illorum secundum ingenii quantitatem dicta vel scripta studiosa sibi cotidie proferrent, firmiter praecepit. [...] sermones et epistolas quaestiunculasque varias illi proferre non timebant;' trans. by Lanham, 'Writing Instruction from Late Antiquity to the Twelfth Century', pp. 112–13; see also Riché, Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Âge, p. 256.

⁶⁴ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, 1.24 (pp. 51–55, esp. p. 53).

⁶⁵ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, 1.24 (p. 53, l. 77; p. 54, l. 109).

⁶⁶ Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 353, ll. 47–49 (on *Ad Herennium*, IV.44.58): 'docet hunc colorem plurimum in dictaminibus valere' (he explains that this kind of embellishment is most effective in *dictamina*).

⁶⁷ Ward, 'Rhetorical Theory and the Rise and Decline of *Dictamen*', pp. 188–89.

verse readers was the Liber Catonianus, which alongside the Disticha Catonis and some fables by Avianus, also contained pieces by Statius and Claudian. Marjorie Curry Woods has recently argued for the possibility of a 'sequence of medieval exercises based on this reader and resembling the classical series of exercises called progymnasmata or praeexercitamina.'68 Woods, too, very circumspectly and correctly speaks of exercises 'resembling' the ancient *progymnasmata*. Another fine collection of classroom exercises in verse from the thirteenth century, along with the basic artes poetriae by Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Gervase of Melkley, is preserved in the Glasgow manuscript Hunterian Museum MS V.8.14.69 The contents of this manuscript give an excellent impression of the kinds and quality of compositional exercises that we might expect to see in a high medieval classroom, and of their distinctly mythological topics, most prominently featuring characters such as Niobe — a favourite character also in ancient progymnasmatic ethopoeia — or Pyramus and Thisbe, familiar from Ovid's Metamorphoses. 70 On various occasions, Woods has made a case for a widespread use of ethopoetic exercises, particularly in their cross-gender variants, in late medieval classrooms.⁷¹ This is clearly supported by the evidence of the Glasgow manuscript. But progymnasmata-like exercises such as ethopoeia or encomium had undoubtedly been very popular throughout the Middle Ages from a very early time, as Margaret Schlauch has suggested with respect to two pieces of Anglo-Saxon poetry.⁷²

In addition to such 'readers', teachers and scholars also compiled anthologies or commonplace books with quotations from ancient and medieval authors, the purpose of which was to serve as sources of classroom exercises for composition teachers. An outstanding example of such a commonplace book, the *Pabularium poetarum*, which Abbot John Whethamstede from St Albans compiled in the mid-fifteenth century, and which survives in a single manuscript from St Albans (British Library, MS Egerton 646), has recently been discovered by Martin Camargo.⁷³ Among other things, this anthology brings together a plethora of

⁶⁸ Woods, 'The Teaching of Poetic Composition in the Later Middle Ages', p. 126 n. 15; Woods, 'Quintilian and Medieval Teaching'.

 $^{^{69}}$ A Thirteenth-Century Anthology of Rhetorical Poems, ed. by Harbert.

⁷⁰ See Glendinning, 'Pyramus and Thisbe in the Medieval Classroom'.

 $^{^{71}}$ See Woods, 'Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence'; Woods, 'Boys Will Be Women'; and Woods, 'Weeping for Dido'.

 $^{^{72}}$ Schlauch, 'The "Dream of the Rood" as Prosopopoeia'; and Schlauch, 'An Old English *Encomium Urbis*'.

⁷³ Camargo, 'Rhetoricians in Black', pp. 380–81.

descriptions of persons and places. Descriptions were of course also standard exercises in the classroom.

This brief and necessarily incomplete survey has only highlighted some fragments of the wealth and variety of classroom exercises from all periods of the Middle Ages. But it also shows that the best we can say is that these exercises at times — but by no means always — resemble exercises that once were parts of the ancient progymnasmatic curriculum. But for various reasons that have been demonstrated, it would not be legitimate to say that these medieval classroom exercises were in any way directly or strongly dependent upon, let alone derived from the ancient *progymnasmata* system. Even when James J. Murphy speaks of a 'system' and a 'program of Christian (or Christian-ized) progymnasmata' for the twelfth century, what he means is completely different from the ancient system.74 If there was any connection at all, on the one hand, the progymnasmata had mutated from rhetorical exercises into means of amplification and stylistic analysis, and thus came to be regarded more as elements of grammar than of rhetoric. On the other hand, it is very clear that the carefully devised and ordered sequence that originally aimed at a smooth transition towards declamation — a genre of exercise more or less alien to the Middle Ages⁷⁵ — could not have persisted, but was split up into smaller units that may themselves have had an independent afterlife in the medieval classroom, but were entirely open for any kind of recombination and even for the establishment of completely new forms of grammatical or rhetorical exercise.

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⁷⁴ Murphy, 'The Teaching of Latin as a Second Language', pp. 172–73.

⁷⁵ See Ward, 'Artificiosa eloquentia in the Middle Ages', 1, 184–91; and Haye, *Oratio*.

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DREAMING IN CLASS: ARISTOTLE'S *DE SOMPNO* IN THE SCHOOLS

Lola Sharon Davidson

t took over a century and a half from their first Latin translations for Aristotle's natural science works to become a central part of the scholastic curriculum. The integration of this pagan, and indeed frankly materialist, discourse into the intellectual orthodoxy of Christian Europe was beset with problems, not only intellectual but also social, political, and religious. This integration took place in the schools through the accepted pedagogical practices of lecture, disputation, commentary, and glossing. The schools were the arena in which the new science contended with religious orthodoxy and in which a synthesis was forged, replacing the Augustinian Neoplatonism of the earlier Middle Ages with the Christian Aristotelianism of the later period. Muslim and Jewish scholars had already faced the challenge of integrating Aristotle's materialist science into the spiritual perspective of a religious society. Their commentaries profoundly influenced the West's own interpretation of the Greek philosopher. Dreams lay at the heart of the relationship between the spiritual and the material. Aristotle's views on dreams were expounded in the *De anima*, which became a core text in the schools,1 and in more detail in the three treatises known collectively as the *De sompno*. In this chapter I will look at what the manuscripts and commentaries can tell us about the reception of the De sompno in the West.²

¹ See *Mind, Cognition and Representation*, ed. by Bakker and Thijssen. For commentaries on Aristotle's natural science works in general see *The Dynamics of Aristotelian Natural Philosophy*, ed. by Leijenhorst, Lüthy, and Thijssen, and in particular De Haas, 'Modifications of the Method of Inquiry in Aristotle's *Physics* I.1', for the relationship between text, commentary, and later interpretation. Aristotle's works are referred to throughout this chapter according to their Latin titles.

² All manuscript references not otherwise indexed are to the catalogue in Davidson,

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Aristotle wrote three short treatises on the subject of dreams and sleep — Desomno et vigilia, De insomniis, and De divinatione per somnum. They were grouped together under the title *De sompno* and formed part of a group of short treatises on natural science termed the Parva naturalia. James of Venice translated five of the Parva naturalia but not the De sompno, whose translator remains unknown.³ James and the anonymous translator worked in Constantinople from Greek texts while Gerard of Cremona worked in Spain, translating from Arabic texts which had themselves been translated either from the Greek or from Syriac translations from the Greek. The confusion to which such a lengthy chain of transmission could give rise may well be imagined. Together their work formed the Corpus vetustius which included most of Aristotle's works on natural philosophy plus a few works mistakenly attributed to Aristotle, such as the *De plantis* and the *De* differentia spiritus et animae. New translations were made from the Greek in the middle of the thirteenth century by William of Moerbeke and these are known as the Corpus recentius. The anonymous De sompno survives in 102 manuscripts, the Moerbeke version in 162, and Michael Scot's translation of Averroes' epitome of the *De sompno* in forty-nine. This makes the *De sompno* a comparatively popular work. The *De anima*, the core text of the Aristotelian science curriculum, survives in 144 manuscripts of James's translation, 268 of the Moerbeke version, sixtytwo of Michael Scot's translation, and a further fifty-six of Scot's translation of Averroes' commentary.4

Aristotle proposes a consistently materialist theory of dreaming. For Aristotle, sleep is the negative aspect of waking — hence the title of his first treatise on the subject, *De somno et vigilia*. Sleep is caused by the process of digestion, which shuts down the perceptual apparatus used to procure food while the animal is awake. By definition, dreaming does not involve thinking or recollection, which are properties of the cognitive soul. The cognitive soul may operate during sleep but this has nothing to do with dreaming. Rather, dreaming consists in the persistence of sense impressions that were received during waking but passed unnoticed due to competition from stronger sensations. These sensations may also be internal, allowing for the possibility of medical diagnosis from dreams. Aristotle attributes no teleological function to dreams and completely denies them any mantic or religious significance. He argues that since dreams come particularly

^{&#}x27;Dreams, Boundaries and the Twelfth Century Renaissance', pp. 274-336.

³ See Minio-Paluello, 'Iacobus Veneticus Grecus', p. 288; Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 307–22; and Trifogli and Leemans, 'Commission II'.

⁴ Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', p. 76.

to inferior people, rather than to the intelligent and wise, they cannot possibly be sent by God. Aristotle dismisses any correspondence between dreams and events as coincidence.⁵

Clearly this view was difficult to reconcile with the revelatory nature of Christianity and its long visionary tradition. To deny the truth of dreams was to deny the spiritual reality to which they were thought to give access. The solution, already adopted by the classical world, was to distribute competing dream theories among different categories of dream — some dreams were divine, some physiological, some demonic. The Muslims and Jews who passed on Aristotle to the West had wrestled with a similar credibility gap. Moreover, like the Latin West, they were the inheritors of a Neoplatonic tradition that had largely submerged Aristotle's conflict with Plato.⁶ It is worth pausing here to consider the intellectual environment into which Aristotle's science made its irruption and thus the preconceptions scholars may have brought to it.

One possible source of misunderstanding was Cicero who in his De divinatione credits Aristotle with the standard Neoplatonic belief in the dream activity of the soul when freed by sleep from the senses. This appears as a direct contradiction of the Aristotelian position as we understand it from his surviving works. Nevertheless, the same attribution was made by Sextus Empiricus who, like Cicero, referred it to the lost Aristotelian dialogue, On Philosophy. The contradiction continues to provoke scholarly debate and makes it easier to understand why so many Aristotelian commentators were able to take the position they did on dreams.7 However, it cannot be said that the *De divinatione* was a popular work. Indeed there are only fourteen manuscripts from before the thirteenth century, most of which come from France. The De divinatione is almost always found associated with Cicero's De natura deorum and his De fato, and in four cases with his rare translation of Plato's *Timaeus*. The *De divinatione* is a debate in which the Ciceronian speaker makes a persuasive rationalist attack on all forms of divination, including dream interpretation. Since it deals with pagan religious beliefs, it was not calculated to appeal to Christian moralists, and although it exposes these beliefs as unfounded superstitions, the grounds on which it does so are as inimical to Christianity as they are to paganism.

⁵ Aristotle, *Parva naturalia*, trans. by Beare and Ross; Wijsenbeek-Wijler, *Aristotle's Concept of Soul, Sleep and Dreams*.

⁶ Blumenthal, 'Neoplatonic Elements in the *De anima* Commentaries'. On the history of theories of the imagination see Bundy, *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought*.

⁷ Chroust, 'Aristotle's *Protrepticus* versus Aristotle's *On Philosophy*'.

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The medieval scholar was far more likely to have encountered Cicero's views on dreams in the context of Macrobius's commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. Irene Caiazzo lists 123 surviving manuscripts of Macrobius's commentary from the twelfth century, plus one abbreviation, and one lost manuscript. To this may be added two manuscripts from the ninth century, five from the tenth, and fifteen from the eleventh, making 147 before the thirteenth century. The *Somnium* appears without the commentary in another eight manuscripts. In over a third of the manuscripts, the *Somnium* and its commentary are virtually alone, while in at least nine they are associated with Calcidius's *Commentary* on Plato's *Timaeus*, which also has a section on dream classification, and in the rest with other Ciceronian works on the natural sciences, cosmology, and astronomy. Macrobius is referred to as a dream interpreter in eight of the manuscripts.

Macrobius's commentary expounds the Neoplatonic belief in the ascension of the soul and the possibility of divine illumination through dreams. Its popularity in the Platonic renaissance of the twelfth century is understandable. However, for our purposes, what is striking about these manuscripts is not only their popularity but the fact that they almost never overlap with the Aristotelian corpus. 10 Here the manuscript tradition records a profound philosophical divergence, one that effectively separates the cathedral schools of the twelfth century from the universities of the thirteenth. Alison M. Peden and C. H. L. Bodenham have suggested that Macrobius's popularity declined as Aristotelianism replaced Platonism in the schools, but Steven F. Kruger has demonstrated Macrobius's continued influence on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century writers on dreams.¹¹ Rather than displacing earlier theories, Aristotelian science was integrated with them, but it was not a harmonious synthesis. As Thomas Ricklin has observed, the introduction of a scientific, indeed essentially medical, understanding of the human body and its processes placed in question its relationship with the soul.¹² However wholehearted the acceptance of Aristotle's physiological theories, any serious treatment of the subject had to reconcile Aristotelian materialism with the Christian tradition.

⁸ Caiazzo, Lectures médiévales de Macrobe, pp. 291–94.

 $^{^9\,}$ Davidson, 'Dreams, Boundaries and the Twelfth Century Renaissance', pp. 301–14.

¹⁰ A possible exception is Uppsala, Universitetsbibl., MS C.647, but this highly miscellaneous codex is a later assemblage of fragments.

¹¹ Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Chap. 5, pp. 83–122; Bodenham, 'The Nature of the Dream in Late Medieval French Literature'; and Peden, 'Macrobius and Medieval Dream Literature'.

¹² Ricklin, Der Traum der Philosophie, pp. 408-16.

Most of the *Corpus vetustius* was completed by the mid-twelfth century but it does not seem to have circulated widely until the thirteenth. I know of only four manuscripts of Aristotle's De sompno from the late twelfth century. In one manuscript it is bound with the very rare dream interpretation manuals of Pascalis Romanus and Leo Tuscus; in another with works by Boethius and Aristotle and treatises on computus and astronomy; in the third with the Corpus vetustius and Plato's *Timaeus*; and in the fourth with the *Corpus vetustius* alone. ¹³ At least 142 manuscripts of the *De sompno* survive from the thirteenth century, almost invariably associated with other scientific works by Aristotle. Indeed fifty-eight of the surviving codices contain only the Corpus vetustius, forty-five only the Corpus recentius, three are a mixture of the Corpus vetustius and the Corpus recentius, and three are fragments. Three-quarters of the codices therefore contain only the Aristotelian texts, to which glosses and commentary have been added, presumably in the classroom, according to the teachings of particular masters. The uniform content of the large majority of these codices points to their production and use as textbooks. Of those manuscripts whose geographical provenance has been established, more than half are known to have come from France and half of the rest from England. Most of these manuscripts, with their standard redand-blue decoration, present a broadly similar appearance and were presumably professionally produced for use in the schools. Indeed copying textbooks was probably a useful source of income for impoverished students. Fifty-one manuscripts, approximately one third of the total, have picture initials, thirty-one have illuminated initials and, of course, quite a few manuscripts, in the medieval manner, have vacant spaces still patiently awaiting their initials some seven hundred years later. We can conclude that buying textbooks was not cheap in the thirteenth century.

The *De sompno* itself is often introduced with a picture initial which normally illustrates the two states of waking and sleeping discussed in the first of the three grouped treatises, the *De somno et vigilia*. BAV, MS Barb. lat. 165, an English manuscript dated 1288, shows a man sleeping on the grass with another standing beside him playing a drum and flute, which may be an allusion to dreams as sense impressions. ¹⁴ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2071, English again, shows a man reclining on a rock under the night sky with a man standing beside him, grasping the sleeper's

¹³ Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Digby 103, fols 128^r–136^v; BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1855, fols 43^v–46^v, 86^r–87^v; BnF, MS lat. 6569, fols 68^v–75^v; Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibl., MS XI 649, fols 129^r–138^r. For a full discussion of Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Digby 103 and Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibl., MS XI 649, see Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 307–22.

¹⁴ BAV, MS Barb. lat. 165, fols 344^v-354^r (fol. 344^v).

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wrist and cloak with both hands.¹⁵ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2984, a French manuscript, has a couple in bed, the woman sleeping, the man sitting awake with a window behind him.¹⁶ BAV, MS Urb. lat. 206, an English manuscript from the beginning of the thirteenth century, has a particularly elaborate initial showing Christ enthroned above a crowned couple in bed. Below the bed are two heads and on either side of the bed stand mitred priests, identified by writing as Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Archdeacon Edmund. Apparently Christ has sent the royal couple, or at least the king, a dream recalling the heinous assassination of his servants, symbolized by the heads under the bed, and informing of their glorious resurrection, shown by them standing at the side of the sleepers.¹⁷ Here the artist has moved beyond illustration into the realm of political commentary, implicitly contradicting the Aristotelian text with a divine vision.

Despite their evident cost, few of the manuscripts boast marks of ownership. Those that do usually proclaim themselves to be the property of monastic institutions, often Dominican and Franciscan, but also other orders. Several come from the Sorbonne and a few from the university at Pavia. Occasionally the scribe, or student, has left his mark. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2083 was written in 1280 'by the hand of Yves Baldwin, cleric of the Breton bishopric of La Flèche'. Magdeburg, Bibl. des Domgymnasiums, MS 165, from a Dominican library, declares: 'Here ends the book *De somno et vigilia* with a most excellent interlinear gloss by me, subprior Brother Peter Linkhoes'. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2075 observes 'which things were given in the school of master John of Aquila'. BL, MS Royal 12. C. xv, with texts by Averroes and Aristotle, was written by Henry of Charwelton, who in 1349 was the priest at Roxton in Bedfordshire. BL, MS Royal 12. G. ii, announces 'Henry of Renham wrote this book and heard it in the schools of

¹⁵ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2071, fols 286°-297^r (fol. 286°).

¹⁶ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2984, fols 177°-85° (fol. 177°).

¹⁷ BAV, MS Urb. lat. 206, fols 306^r-17^v (fol. 306^r).

¹⁸ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2083, fols 196°–201° (fol. 211°): 'M°CC°LXXX^{mo} [...] de manu Ivonis Baudoyns clerici Britonis de Sagitta Episcopi.'

¹⁹ Magdeburg, Bibl. des Domgymnasiums, MS 165, fols 170^r–83^r (fol. 183^r): 'Explicit liber de Sumno et vigilia cum glosa interlineari valde bona per me fratrem Petrum Linckhoes suppriorem.'

 $^{^{20}}$ BAV, MS Vat. lat. 2075, fols $197^{\rm r}-205^{\rm r}$ (fol. $208^{\rm r})$: 'quos concessi in scolis magistri Iohannis de Aquila'.

²¹ BL, MS Royal 12. C. xv, fols 247^v–50^r (fol. 261^v): 'Henricus de Charwelton scriptsit hoc volumen.' This indicates that the manuscript is early fourteenth century rather than early thirteenth, as suggested in *Aristoteles latinus*, ed. by Lacombe and others, 1, 383–84, §309.

Oxford and corrected and glossed it in the hearing.²² Henry, a Benedictine monk from Rochester priory, had apparently prepared for his studies by copying the textbook.²³ The personal reading of the text is here merely a prelude to its authoritative and collective interpretation.

Most of the manuscripts are glossed and many include commentaries. Although my manuscript survey did not extend into the fourteenth century, by which period these manuscripts were extremely numerous, it is notable that even the thirteenth-century manuscripts often have glossing in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands. As well as being subject to prolonged use, these manuscripts were also very well travelled. A French manuscript, for example, is likely to feature glosses in English, German, and Italian hands covering a period of several centuries. The glossing does not always proceed as far as the *De sompno*. The *De sompno* was certainly widely read as part of the *Parva naturalia*, but it is probable that the major impact of Aristotelian dream theory came via the *De anima* which was the most popular Aristotelian text and preceded the *Parva naturalia* in most collections. As with modern textbooks, not all students made it to the end. The *De anima* makes only a few references to dreaming, all of which treat it as an inferior state of inactivity and deception, a view that is further developed in the *De sompno* itself.²⁴

The Arabic Tradition

The introduction of Aristotelian science to the Latin West was not a casual by-product of cultural contact but rather the expression of a positive drive. Charles S. F. Burnett has demonstrated that the Toledan translators, and Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187) in particular, were implementing a coherent project intended to recover for the Latins the intellectual heritage of the Greeks. They were, in a sense, continuing the enterprise cut short by Boethius's untimely death. ²⁵ The Toledan translators were fortunate to be working not only in a period of exceptional intellectual exchange between the three main 'peoples of the Book', but in the context of an Aristotelian revival whose main proponents were the Muslim Averroes

 $^{^{22}}$ BL, MS Royal 12. G. ii, fols 368^r-82^r (fol. 1^v): 'quem librum scripsit Henricus de Renham et audivit in scolis Oxonis et emendavit et glosavit audiendo'.

²³ Clark, 'University Monks in Late Medieval England', p. 62.

²⁴ Aristotle, *De anima*, trans. by Foster and Humphries; on dreams, see pp. 164, 385–86, 395 and 442.

²⁵ Burnett, 'The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo'.

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(Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198) and the Jewish Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), both medical doctors originally from Cordoba. These scholars inherited and passed on the philosophical tradition begun by Alkindi (800–873), the first champion of Greek philosophy in the Muslim world. Alkindi was followed by Alfarabi (c. 870–950), a Neoplatonic commentator on Aristotle whose classification of the sciences seems to have provided the framework for Gerard of Cremona's translation programme. Alfarabi was followed in turn by Avicenna (Ibn Sina, 980–1037), a medical doctor who, like Alfarabi, placed Aristotle within a religious framework. Dominicus Gundissalinus (c. 1150), archdeacon of Segovia, translated Avicenna's *De anima* and himself wrote, among other works, a treatise of the same name.

Of the 146 Aristotelian codices containing the *De sompno*, thirty-seven also contain works attributed to authors other than Aristotle. Gundissalinus and Alfarabi head the list, being present in eight codices each, closely followed by Averroes and Alkindi on seven, and Avicenna and Albertus Magnus on six. Aquinas only rates four because this survey stops at the thirteenth century. He is exceeded by Boethius on five and equalled by Alexander of Villa Dei. The works of these authors all deal with natural science, except for those of Boethius and Alexander which are on arithmetic. The reason these authors hover in such a narrow range is because they are frequently found together in what one might term the *de luxe* version of the Aristotelian scientific codex. While only a quarter of the codices include separate commentaries, these collections are more significant for the development of the discourse than the more numerous basic textbooks.

The influx of substantial numbers of new texts necessarily affected not only the intellectual life of Europe but also the structure of education, particularly since it coincided with the shift from the cathedral schools to the universities. The symbolism of the seven liberal arts continued to be influential, especially in art where the established iconography persisted, and to some extent also in structuring the lower levels of education.²⁷ Within the nascent universities of Oxford and Paris, however, the rise of Aristotle resulted in the liberal arts being subsumed into a wider curriculum. An anonymous guide for arts students at Paris, composed between 1230 and 1240, divides the arts course into three parts: rational philosophy (the trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and logic), natural philosophy (the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, to which were now

²⁶ Works mistakenly attributed to Aristotle at the time, such as the *De differentia spiritus et animae* of Qusta ibn Luqa or the *De plantis* of Nicholas of Damascus, are included with Aristotle for the purposes of this survey.

²⁷ Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, pp. 213–59.

added physics and metaphysics), and moral philosophy. Aquinas, who did so much to integrate the new Aristotelian knowledge, proposed a similar division.²⁸

The vast majority of the manuscripts fit this schema. They are concerned exclusively with the physics part of the course. Twelve manuscripts contain material from other sections of the natural philosophy course (Boethius and Alexander on arithmetic, Alhazen on optics, John of Sacrobosco on astronomy). Seven contain material other than natural philosophy, but most of these are miscellaneous codices assembled from earlier manuscripts. The overwhelming impression is of two levels of text for the physics course: the basic text, containing the works of Aristotle, to be glossed by the student under the instruction of the master; and the advanced text, including commentaries and additional works on the subject, for the use of masters and those aspiring to that position.

Alkindi's Liber de somno et visione, which was translated by Gerard of Cremona, is not a commentary but rather a short introductory treatise on the nature of sleep and dreams.²⁹ Seven manuscripts survive from the thirteenth century, of which three also include Aristotle's De sompno, while the rest feature scientific works by writers in the Aristotelian tradition. For Alkindi, 'the dream is the use of thought by the soul and the suspension of the use of the senses.'30 Whereas Aristotle considered sleep an effect of digestion, Alkindi considered efficient digestion and the restoration of the body to be the purpose of sleep. He quotes Plato, 'the sage of the Greeks', on the soul as the location of all sensible and intelligible things and hence of all knowledge, and further cites 'their eminent philosopher Aristotle' as supporting this view.³¹ It is for this reason that the soul is capable of perceiving future events and universal truths in dreams. The person's physical and moral receptivity determine the degree of truth and clarity of the dream. The process is essentially the same as that which operates while awake and which permits some people to form more accurate conceptions of the past, present, and future than do others. Contrary and confused dreams result from errors made in the process. The unusual imagery of dreams is evidence of the soul's creativity when freed from the senses. For Alkindi, dreaming is a superior, because less material, form of thought.32

²⁸ Kibre, 'The *Quadrivium* in the Thirteenth Century Universities'.

²⁹ al-Kindī, 'Traité d'Al Kindi sur la Quiddité du sommeil et de la vision'; for the Latin text and manuscripts see Nagy, 'Die Philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb ben Isḥāq al-Kindī.

³⁰ al-Kindī, 'Traité d'Al Kindi sur la Quiddité du sommeil et de la vision', p. 80: 'Le songe est donc l'usage de la pensée par l'âme et la suspension de l'usage des sens.'

³¹ al-Kindī, 'Traité d'Al Kindi sur la Quiddité du sommeil et de la vision', p. 81: 'Platon le sage des Grecs [...]. Leur philosophe eminent Aristote.'

³² al-Kindī, 'Traité d'Al Kindi sur la Quiddité du sommeil et de la vision'.

Averroes wrote commentaries on all of Aristotle's works, including a short commentary or epitome on the *De sompno* which was translated into Latin by Michael Scot (c. 1175–1232).³³ The earliest surviving manuscript is in Toledo, where Scot worked before moving to Frederick II's court in Sicily.³⁴ An anonymous translation also exists in one thirteenth-century manuscript. It is shorter than the Scot version and includes examples from both Old and New Testaments.³⁵ Averroes' epitome occurs in twenty-two manuscripts from the thirteenth century, only two of which also include Aristotle's *De sompno*. Nine of these codices include other Aristotelian texts, five include only Averroes, and eight include other Aristotelian commentators, both Arabic and Latin. It is thus notable that commentaries and collections of commentaries circulated separately from the actual Aristotelian text to which, of course, they were frequently transferred by glossing. If we include the *De sompno* manuscripts of Averroes and Alkindi with the Aristotelian De sompno manuscripts, Averroes streaks ahead with twenty-seven, Gundissalinus and Alfarabi come next with fourteen and thirteen, followed by Avicenna on twelve, Alkindi and Albertus Magnus on ten, and Algazel, Aquinas, and Alexander of Villa Dei equal last at seven. It seems likely that Averroes was indeed the strongest influence on how Aristotle's views on dreaming were interpreted by the West.³⁶

Averroes' *Epitome* on the *Parva naturalia* is divided into three books. The first deals with the *De sensu*, the second with the *De memoria* and the *De sompno*, and the third with the *De longitudine*. Averroes explains that these were the only parts of the *Parva naturalia* available in Spain at that time. Book II is further divided into three chapters, the first treating memory, the second sleep and waking, and the third dreams. Although following the overall structure of Aristotle's work, Averroes' commentary is a creative engagement with the text rather than an explication of it. He accepts Aristotle's physiological account of the mechanism of sleep and dreaming but places it firmly within a Neoplatonic context. Thus, having propounded the Aristotelian theory according to which sleep is the suspension of the activity of the perceptive soul, he observes:

³³ For the influence of Averroes' commentaries on the reception of Aristotle's *Physica* see Donati, 'The Notion of *Dimensiones indeterminatae*'.

³⁴ Toledo, Bibl. de Cabildo, MS 95.12, fols 46^v–51^v.

³⁵ Averroës, *Compendia librorum Aristotelis qui Parva naturalia vocantur*, ed. by Shields and Blumberg, p. xiv.

³⁶ For a discussion of the comparative impact of Avicenna and Averroes on medieval Western philosophy in general see Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy*, esp. pp. 50–65 and 103–108; and De Libera, *La Philosophie médiévale*.

And the common sense will advance towards the interior of the body to aid the cogitative faculty, for the cogitative faculty will become vigorous when the other senses are at rest. Man, therefore, will be able to perceive future events during sleep, whereas he will not be able to perceive them during waking.³⁷

Averroes further mitigates the negative nature of Aristotelian sleep by arguing that sleep can result not only from a weakening of the perceptive faculty, but also from intense cogitation, causing the mind to withdraw from the senses the better to concentrate itself:

Now this situation in certain people will reach such a point where they will experience a condition similar to death [...] and they will comprehend noble things and behold spiritual things that exist in the world such as the angels, the heavens etc.³⁸

Averroes opens his section on dreams by declaring:

It is appropriate, after explaining the nature of sleep, that we explain the nature of dreams and of those divine perceptions which are of the same class as dreams but are not related to the acquisition of man nor to his endeavour [...]. To reject their existence is tantamount to rejecting the existence of sense-objects, and especially, the existence of true dreams; for there is not a person who has not at times had dreams that warn him of that which will happen to him in the future.³⁹

He remarks 'people think that dreams come from angels, divination from demons and prophecy from God,'40 then explains that Aristotle is concerned only with dreams that provide information concerning the material, so he does not deal with religious revelations.

Agreeing with Aristotle that 'the faculties of cogitation and memory do not function in sleep', Averroes attributes dreams to the permanently active imaginative faculty and concludes that, since the source of true knowledge in dreams cannot be either past experience or cogitation, it must be divine intelligence. How can divine intelligences, which by their nature are universal, communicate particular information? Averroes argues that while the intelligence itself is universal, the soul receives it as a particular because the soul is embodied and particularization is a function of materiality. He compares this with a physician predicting

³⁷ Averroës, *Epitome of Parva naturalia*, ed. and trans. by Blumberg, p. 33.

 $^{^{38}}$ Averroës, $\it Epitome \ of \ Parva \ naturalia$, ed. and trans. by Blumberg, p. 35.

³⁹ Averroës, *Epitome of Parva naturalia*, ed. and trans. by Blumberg, p. 39.

⁴⁰ Averroës, *Epitome of Parva naturalia*, ed. and trans. by Blumberg, p. 40.

⁴¹ Averroës, *Epitome of Parva naturalia*, ed. and trans. by Blumberg, p. 41.

the course of an illness from the application of general principles to a particular case. Dreams are symbolic because the dream image is more spiritual and hence closer to the universal form than is the particular. Averroes believes dreams have been granted to us as a gift to supplement the deficiency of our cogitative intellect which is inadequate to deal with future happenings. He devotes a brief paragraph at the end to false dreams, ascribing them to day-residue, wish fulfilment, and humoural imbalances, and concludes that one may distinguish true dreams from false by the impression the former make on the soul.

Averroes' Jewish contemporary, Maimonides, was forced into exile by the fundamentalist Almohads, fleeing to Egypt where he completed his most famous work, The Guide of the Perplexed. 42 Maimonides appears in only two thirteenthcentury De sompno manuscripts, once as the sole accompaniment to a Corpus vetustius Aristotle and once together with Averroes' De sompno and works by Avicenna, Alkindi, Alfarabi, Algazel, Gundissalinus, and Alfred of Sareshel. Like Averroes, Maimonides was a medical doctor and his work shows a strong concern with physiology. He divides the soul into the active intellect, the rational intellect, and the imaginative intellect. The active intellect is concerned with putting thoughts into action, the imaginative with the processing of the images of sensible things, and the rational with moral absolutes. Dreams are a function of the imaginative soul, just as for Augustine they are a form of spiritual perception, and for the Muslims they pertain to the world of images, the alam-al-mithal. In dreams the imaginative soul remembers and meditates on the images and desires of the day, freed from the distractions of the senses. The difference between dreams and prophecy is not one of kind but of degree. Dreams are an immature form of prophecy. Maimonides distinguishes eleven degrees of prophecy, the highest of which requires the interaction of the imaginative and rational faculties with a high level of morality. The difference between dreams and visions is a matter of the degree of certainty the dreamer is willing to attribute to the experience, and this in turn is a function of its clarity, which is determined by the degree of strength of the imaginative intellect.⁴³

Like Aristotle, Maimonides divides the soul into three parts. However, Aristotle's sensitive soul is concerned purely with the processing of sense perception whereas Maimonides' imaginative soul manifestly possesses a cognitive function. Aristotle's denial of meaning to dreams rests on his exclusion of them from the domain of cognition. To treat them as including cognition negates his

⁴² See Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. by Pines.

⁴³ Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. by Pines, pp. 360–410; for Maimonides on dreams and prophecy see also Kreisel, 'Moses Maimonides', pp. 262–68.

entire argument. Maimonides saw himself as an Aristotelian and distrusted Plato's mythic language, but his understanding of Aristotle was strongly influenced by the Neoplatonism of Alfarabi. ⁴⁴ Nevertheless, his work excited opposition in the Jewish community from those who saw it as reducing prophecy to a psychological phenomenon and miracles to unusual natural events. In a movement paralleling the condemnations of 1215 and 1277, discussed later in this chapter, Solomon of Montpellier in 1232/33 followed up his call for a ban on the writings of Maimonides by appealing to the Catholic Inquisition to have them publicly burnt. This not only set an unfortunate precedent, as exemplified by the subsequent burning of the Talmud in Paris, but opened up an enduring conflict between religion and philosophy in Jewish thought. ⁴⁵ Nevertheless, notwithstanding its proscription for materialism, Maimonides' work became popular with the scholastics. ⁴⁶

Maimonides and Averroes held somewhat similar views on dreams. Both were influential in the interpretation of Aristotle in the West, but both the Jewish and Muslim traditions were far more favourable to dreams and prophecy than the Christian. Christians too interpreted Aristotle in terms of their own preconceptions and were slow to realize the extent and depth of his materialism. However, the Latin West had already been developing a cosmology whose separation between spirit and matter would bring them closer to Aristotelian materialism than was conceivable in either the Jewish or Muslim traditions.

The Latin Commentators

The English showed an early enthusiasm for Aristotle's scientific works which were being taught at Oxford by the beginning of the thirteenth century. Alfred of Sareshel's *De motu cordis*, completed before 1203 and dedicated to Alexander Neckam, is the first Latin work to cite the *De sompno*. Alfred, also known as Alfredus Anglicus, studied in Spain and is credited with a number of translations and commentaries, including one on the *De sompno* which has not come down to us. The *De motu cordis*, which combines Avicennian Neoplatonism with Aristotelian science, was a text in the Arts faculty of Paris by 1250.⁴⁷ However, Aristotle's triumph in the Paris schools was not achieved without opposition. In

⁴⁴ Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. by Pines, p. lxxix.

⁴⁵ Dobbs-Weinstein, 'The Maimonidean Controversy'.

⁴⁶ Vajda, 'La Philosophie juive du moyen âge'. See also, Broadie, 'Maimonides and Aquinas'.

⁴⁷ Otte, 'The Life and Writings of Alfredus Anglicus'; Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', pp. 71–72; Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 357–78.

1210, the Council of Sens condemned the Quaternuli of the Paris master, David of Dinant, and forbad reading or commenting on Aristotle's books on natural philosophy, either publicly or secretly. The council associated the offending texts with the pantheistic heresy of the Amalricians, followers of the Paris master, Amaury of Bène. In 1215, the papal legate, Robert de Courçon, in granting statutes to the University of Paris, reaffirmed the ban on Aristotle's metaphysics and natural philosophy together with the teachings of David of Dinant and the Amalrician heretics. 48 The English natural philosopher Roger Bacon claimed that these condemnations were 'on account of the eternity of the world and of time, and on account of the book concerning the divination of dreams, which is the third of De sompno et vigilia and on account of many other transmitted errors.'49 Indeed the De sompno was used by David in his Quaternuli and David was cited as a commentator on the *De sompno* by the Oxford master, Ralph of Longchamp (c. 1155–1215). Ralph used David, as well as Aristotle, Alkindi, and Macrobius in his commentary on Alan of Lille's Anticlaudianus, which Ralph had completed by 1213. It is clear that despite the opposition of the Church, these texts were circulating freely.⁵⁰ In 1231, Pope Gregory IX granted approval for the teaching of some expurgated Aristotelian texts. The 1252 statutes for the English nation in Paris include the *De anima* as required reading, and the 1255 list of books a master was required to lecture on include virtually all the Corpus vetustius. Despite initial resistance, by the mid-thirteenth century Aristotle's natural philosophy was part of the standard curriculum.⁵¹

Another Englishman, Adam of Buckfield, also wrote a commentary on the *De sompno*, which survives in fifteen manuscripts. See Alfred and Adam both appear twice in my manuscript survey. Adam taught in the Arts faculty at Oxford in the 1240s. He appears to have been popular, as many copies of his lectures survive. His work is so commonly found associated with that of Aquinas that his commentaries on the *De sompno* have been printed as part of Aquinas's *Opera omnia*. He was strongly influenced by Averroes and indeed his commentaries have been

⁴⁸ Ricklin, Der Traum der Philosophie, pp. 324-34.

⁴⁹ 'propter eternitatem mundi et temporibus, et propter librum de divinacione sompniorum, qui est tertius de sompno et vigilia, et propter multa alia erronea translata', quoted in Gregory, 'I sogni e gli astri', p. 142, n. 89, from Bacon, *Compendium studii theologiae*, ed. by Rashdall, p. 33.

⁵⁰ Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie*, pp. 335–56 and 378–407; on Ralph see also Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 116–19.

⁵¹ Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', pp. 46–51.

⁵² Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries', p. 322.

criticized as at times mere paraphrases of the Cordovan scholar.⁵³ Adam's primary concern seems to have been an explication of the logical structure of the text. He dedicates six *lectiones* to Aristotle's first book, five to the second, and two to the third, keeping roughly proportional to the length of Aristotle's text but significantly exceeding it. Adam's method may be seen from the beginning of his commentary on the third and shortest book, *De divinatione per somnum*:

Having previously explained dreaming and certain of its properties, he here explains a particular consequence of dreaming sleep, namely dream divination. Divination is foreknowledge of any future or absent things signified. And this part is divided into two parts. In the first he states his intention. In the second he carries out his intention, there, *nam quod omnes* et cetera. And this [part is also divided] in[to] two parts. In the first he proceeds by [presenting] opposing [propositions]. In the second [he proceeds] by explaining, there, *necesse est* et cetera. The first is divided into two parts. In the first he demonstrates divination by two arguments. In the second he argues the affirmative side that divination exists, there, *nullam vero*. 54

The text is presented as a form of shorthand to be expanded by the master and pupils. Adam approaches Aristotle's scientific corpus with the hermeneutic apparatus of the trivium, confident that the tools of logic and dialectic will uncover its meaning. The rigorously logical character of Aristotle's work was the guarantee of its authority, but the role of the interpreter in providing access to that authority remained fundamental.

Adam explains Aristotle's argument within the logical framework he has constructed for it. His reading is generally a close one but, by its nature, paraphrase permits subtle shifts of emphasis. By highlighting Aristotle's speculations on the role of sense impressions, the possibility of their transmission, and the susceptibility of melancholics, Adam foregrounds a mechanism for telepathic and predictive dreams. Aristotle dismisses divine causation with the observation that were dreams sent by God, they would come to wise persons while awake rather than to foolish persons asleep. To the modern reader this is an argument against the divine causation of dreams, but to a medieval reader it was an argument against

⁵³ Weisheipl, 'Science in the Thirteenth Century', p. 462.

⁵⁴ My translation; Adam de Buckfield, 'Commentarium in De divinatione per somnum': 'Determinato [sic] prius de somnio, et quibusdam proprietatibus ejus, hic determinat de quodam consequente somnum ad somnium, scilicet de divinatione somni. Et est divinatio alicujus futuri et absentis significati praecognitio. Et ista pars in duas dividitur. In prima ponit intentum. In secunda prosequitur de intento, ibi, *nam quod omnes* et cetera. Et ista in duas. Primo procedit opponendo. Secundo determinando, ibi, *necesse est* et cetera. Prima in duas. In prima ostendit divinationem per duas rationes. Secundo arguit ad partem affirmativam quod divinatio sit, ibi, *nullam vero*.'

unauthorized nocturnal fantasies and an endorsement of the waking revelations of accredited religious specialists. To some extent the text itself permits these shifts, for finding it impossible to deny flatly what everyone believes to be true, namely the predictive nature of dreams, Aristotle refutes their supernatural origin by providing a series of materialist explanations that paradoxically lend weight to the possibility of such dreams. Moreover, that some dreams have a natural origin does not in itself preclude the possibility of others being of divine origin. So Adam, like commentators before and after him, may be excused for confining Aristotle's explanation to a restricted category of dreams.

The German Dominican and Paris master, Albertus Magnus (c. 1193–1280), devoted a lengthy commentary to the *De sompno*. For the first two books this closely follows the structure of Aristotle's argument, dealing with it point-bypoint, but on reaching the more contentious third book, Albertus proceeds to lengthy digressions and a consideration of the views of other commentators. Albertus agrees with Aristotle that most dreams are natural and not sent by God, for otherwise they would not be sent especially to melancholics. Moreover their interpretation, which proceeds by metaphor, is not rational and so cannot be considered a science. Nevertheless, he declares Aristotle's treatment of the subject to be imperfect. He approves Socrates but rejects the Stoics and criticizes Avicenna, Algazel, Averroes, Alfarabi, and Isaac Judaeus for their Neoplatonic appeal to intelligences and universals. He believes that dreams are predictive, and that by informing us of the fate decreed by the stars they provide scope for the operation of free will in our response. He endorses Maimonides' views on prophecy but adds two more levels to make thirteen grades. One ascends from the physical, through the imaginative, to the intellectual. He distinguishes visions, which are seen while awake, from dreams, seen while asleep, and from prophecy, when through rapture one learns something inaccessible through reason. Following Augustine, Albertus sees prophecy as superior to visions and dreams because it includes understanding.⁵⁵ Albertus also dealt extensively with dreams in his Summa de creaturis which Vincent of Beauvais used for his popular encyclopaedia, Speculum naturale.56

Albertus was eclipsed by his pupil, Thomas Aquinas (1228–1274), whose attempt to reconcile Aristotle and Augustine was to prove profoundly influen-

⁵⁵ Albergus Magnus, *Parva naturalia*, ed. by Jammy; see also Steneck, 'Albert on the Psychology of Sense Perception', and Diepgen, *Traum und Traumdeutung als medizinisch-naturwissenschaftliches Problem*.

⁵⁶ For a detailed comparison of the two works see Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 99–122.

tial.⁵⁷ Aguinas observes that spiritual sensitivity is greater in sleep but reason is inferior, while prophecy requires divine grace.⁵⁸ He agrees with Augustine that the best prophet is one who both perceives and interprets images. Like Albertus, he distinguishes between visions while awake and dreams while asleep. Not all prophecy requires alienation from the senses, but when it does, such alienation proceeds in a natural manner, through sleep or contemplation, not through a distortion of nature, as in madness.⁵⁹ Aquinas distinguishes five causes of dreams which he categorizes as internal/external and spiritual/physical: 1) thoughts and desires; 2) internal physiological states; 3) external physical impressions; 4) God via angels; and 5) demons. Apart from coincidence and medical diagnosis, true dreams come only from external causes. Divination from dreams is lawful unless they have been obtained through a pact with demons. 60 Both angels and demons can cause imaginary appearances through their action on the bodily humours. Dreams are not to be considered deceptive simply because, owing to our own inadequacy, we fail to understand them. 61 Demons cannot perform miracles contrary to nature, such as changing humans into animals, but they can change the appearance of things, according to natural processes, and can manufacture bodies out of air.⁶² Aquinas treats sexual dreams as imaginary experiences rather than direct demonic assaults. Their culpability depends on their cause but they should be considered defiling even though, being unintentional, they are not actually sinful.⁶³

Aquinas remains torn between the superiority of waking and sleeping perception. He agrees with Augustine that the spiritual is superior to the physical, and that sleeping is more spiritual than waking. He also agrees with Aristotle that reason is stronger while awake, and that the physical senses are a more certain source of knowledge than the products of the imagination. That visions occur while

 $^{^{57}}$ On the conflict between reason and revelation see Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*.

⁵⁸ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. by Gilby, XLV (1970), ed. and trans. by Potter, p. 33 (2a2ae.172.1).

⁵⁹ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. by Gilby, XLV (1970), ed. and trans. by Potter, pp. 54–63 (2a2ae.173.2–3).

⁶⁰ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. by Gilby, LX (1968), ed. and trans. by O'Meara and Duffy, pp. 57–59 (2a2ae.95.6).

 $^{^{61}}$ Aquinas, $\it Summa\ theologiae, ed.$ by Gilby, xv (1970), ed. and trans. by Charlesworth, pp. 25–29 (1a.111.3).

 $^{^{62}}$ Aquinas, $\it Summa\ theologiae, ed.$ by Gilby, xv (1970), ed. and trans. by Charlesworth, pp. 81–85 (1a.114.4).

 $^{^{63}}$ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. by Gilby, LIX (1975), ed. and trans. by Gilby, pp. 57–65 (3a.80.7).

awake does not enhance their credit, since they remain imaginary and imply alienation from the senses. Aquinas is more interested in spiritual beings and less interested in astral influences than Albertus. The action of angels and demons on the bodily humours is Aquinas's major device for linking the spiritual and material realms. Albertus is truer to Aristotle in his association of dreams with the natural world, although he accords them more significance than Aristotle would. His thought inclines to natural magic and so risks denying God's direct intervention in the world. Aquinas avoids this by combining the divine/demonic dualism of the monastic tradition with Aristotleian materialism. The categories of spiritual/material and inner/outer are accorded more equal importance but are tenuously and inexplicably related. The shift is reminiscent of the hardening of categories in Gregory the Great as compared with Augustine.⁶⁴

Considerably more radical than either Albertus or Aquinas was another Dominican, Boethius of Dacia (fl. c. 1270). Boethius wrote a short treatise on dreams which survives in nine manuscripts. It relies heavily on Aristotle without being a commentary as such.⁶⁵ Boethius presents himself as responding to repeated enquiries, suggesting there was considerable academic discussion on the matter. He asks whether knowledge of any kind, but particularly of the future, may be obtained through dreams. He observes that there is neither a logical connection nor a mechanism by which this might occur. Nevertheless he concludes that such knowledge is possible: 1) through coincidence; 2) through deciding to act on a dream and thereby bringing about its realization; and 3) through perceiving the effects of stars upon the health of the body. Internally, the humours also may give rise to dreams:

And when black and earthly vapours rise up, then the sleeper dreams that he is seeing black monks [i.e. Benedictines]; and certain foolish ones, having awakened, swear that they have seen devils while they were asleep [...] when clear vapours rise up [...] they swear that they were carried away and have in truth seen angels. And they are deceived because they are ignorant of the causes of things.⁶⁶

Boethius goes on to claim that '[a]lthough such cases of deception can happen owing to natural causes, nonetheless I do not deny that by divine will an angel or a devil can in truth appear to a person who is sleeping or to one who is ill'. 67 Strictly speaking, Boethius is orthodox, since the Church was more than

⁶⁴ Markus, 'The Eclipse of a Neo-Platonic Theme'.

⁶⁵ Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries', pp. 387–88.

⁶⁶ Boethius, *On Dreams*, trans. by Wippel, p. 75.

⁶⁷ Boethius, *On Dreams*, trans. by Wippel, p. 75.

willing to denounce many dreams as delusory, but his orthodoxy would be more convincing if he had not illustrated his naturalistic explanations with ridicule of religious visions. His extended treatment of the humoural causes of dreams derives from the Salernitan school and from commentators such as Avicenna and Averroes rather than from Aristotle himself.⁶⁸

Averroes was regarded as the champion of strict Aristotelianism. ⁶⁹ His views continued to excite opposition in orthodox circles and, in 1270, the bishop of Paris, Stephen Tempier, condemned aspects of his teachings. In 1277, these condemnations were reissued in a considerably expanded version that covered a wide variety of propositions of a materialist or rationalist tendency, as well as some which bluntly rejected the authority and teachings of the Church on matters such as heresy and sexuality.⁷⁰ Two of Tempier's articles specifically condemn naturalist views on dreams. Number thirty-three denounces the view 'that raptures and visions do not occur except by nature' and number sixty-five 'that God or intelligence does not pour knowledge into the human soul in sleep except through the medium of celestial bodies.71 In his introductory letter, Tempier accused certain unnamed masters in the arts faculty of Paris of teaching a doctrine of double truth — that something could be true according to reason yet false according to faith, and vice versa.⁷² It seems improbable that any Paris master ever held that something could be simultaneously true and false. Rather Boethius maintained that reason provides a certain but partial access to truth which is completed by revelation.⁷³ Nevertheless Tempier may well have feared that some would prefer the truth of reason.

The 1277 condemnations were particularly directed against Siger of Brabant and Boethius of Dacia, both of whom were driven out of Paris and sought refuge in Italy, but they were also aimed at Albertus and Aquinas.⁷⁴ In particular,

⁶⁸ Fattori, 'Sogni e temperamenti'.

⁶⁹ See Van Steenberghen, 'L'Averroïsme Latin au XIII^e siècle'.

⁷⁰ Piché, La Condamnation Parisienne de 1277.

⁷¹ '33 (177). Quod raptus et visiones non fiunt, nisi per naturam'; '65 (176). Quod deus vel intelligentia non infundit scientiam anime humane in sompno, nisi mediante corpore celesti', in Piché, *La Condamnation Parisienne de 1277*, pp. 88 and 100; see also Gregory, 'I sogni e gli astri', p. 142.

⁷² 'Dicunt enim ea esse vera secundum philosophiam, sed non secundum fidem catholicam, quasi sint due contrarie veritates, et quasi contra veritatem sacre scripture sit veritas in dictis gentilium dampnatorum'; in Piché, *La Condamnation Parisienne de 1277*, p. 74.

⁷³ See Piché, *La Condamnation Parisienne de 1277*, pp. 201–15.

⁷⁴ See Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris*, Chap. 2, for the context of the

the proposition on astral influences was directed at Albertus whose strong interest in astrology tended to preclude supernatural explanations. The condemnations represented a victory for the neo-Augustinianism of the Franciscans against the modified Aristotelianism of the Dominicans, but it was a temporary one. In 1323 Aquinas was canonized by Pope John XXII and in 1325, Stephen of Bourret, Bishop of Paris, revoked any articles of the 1277 condemnations that could be interpreted as touching the doctrines of Aquinas. Following Aquinas, the Church preserved the consistency of the physical world and the existence of a transcendent creator by asserting a parallel spiritual realm, thereby opening a mysterious gap between the material and the spiritual. The more materialist speculations of Albertus and Boethius inspired the natural magic tradition that preserved the unity of the spiritual and the material realms, but compromised the existence of a God separable from his creation.

It took over a century for the Latin West to digest Aristotle, during which time its educational structure underwent profound changes. The previously marginal Aristotle became the core curriculum of the new universities. Within the classroom the text was read, deconstructed, and reinterpreted, its various elements carefully sifted and evaluated, and then recombined into a more acceptable pattern. Commentaries were the tools medieval scholars used to confront the challenge of Aristotle's materialism and to integrate this radical new form of knowledge. The same manuscripts transmitted the texts, together with their burden of commentary and glossing, guiding interpretation for centuries to come.

1277 condemnations. See particularly p. 43 on Hissette's identification of thirty articles from Siger and thirty from Boethius, and pp. 52–56 on the understanding by contemporaries that the condemnations targeted Aquinas.

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⁷⁵ Piché, *La Condamnation Parisienne de 1277*, pp. 168–72; and Wippel, 'The Condemnations of 1270 and 1277 at Paris'.

⁷⁶ Thijssen, Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, pp. 55–56.

⁷⁷ For the subsequent history of these opposing philosophical tendencies, see Easlea, *Witch-Hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy*, and Easlea, *Science and Sexual Repression*. For a concise overview of the central debates of medieval philosophy see De Libera, *La Philosophie médiévale*.

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ARISTOTLE IN THE MEDIEVAL CLASSROOM: STUDENTS, TEACHING, AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN THE SCHOOLS OF PARIS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

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Por us, Aristotle ranks among the 'classical' authors. He lived in what we have labelled the 'Classical Era'. His *Politics, Nicomachean Ethics*, and even *Metaphysics* are placed in the category of 'classical' texts, and the classics-loving humanists of the Renaissance, whose taste in such matters we still largely follow, were much taken with his *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. Consult a modern college catalogue and you find that Aristotle is regularly taught in the Department of Classics; look at recent issues of a classics journal, and you see that its articles often feature or discuss the Stagirite. In the Middle Ages, however, Aristotle was viewed rather differently. During the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he came to be central to the educational curriculum, and for a significant though outnumbered group of disgruntled intellectuals, this happened largely at the expense of the 'classics'. Teachers, to be sure, played a crucial role in this change. But so, I will argue in this chapter, did students. Indeed, the latter's role, undervalued with respect both to the curriculum and to educational practice, will receive the emphasis here.

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¹ Modern scholarly journals and departments of philosophy have also, one might say, staked a claim to Aristotle. This division of labour between philosophy and classics roughly corresponds to the division we see in the Aristotelian corpus between the works of technical philosophy (such as the Organon, *Metaphysics, Physics*) and humanistic works (*Poetics, Rhetoric, Politics, Ethics*), though of course there are areas of overlapping interest.

Europe's High Middle Ages saw a multifaceted revolution not only in the content but also in the practice of education.² Our focus will be on the schools of Paris, the most important in the Christian West for what would become 'undergraduate' study. We begin with content. To help us get our bearings, we are going to look briefly at three 'snapshots' — one produced *c*. 1160 when the revolution was still fairly new; another in 1215 at the approximate midpoint of the revolution; and yet one more, forty years later when that revolution was essentially complete.

The first of these 'snapshots' is provided by John of Salisbury a good decade after his time in the Parisian schools, which extended from 1136 to 1147.3 As yet there was no *universitas*, and consequently no formal set curriculum. There were, however, some rough guidelines for study provided by the traditional schema of the seven liberal arts inherited from Roman antiquity: the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy). These subjects were, in theory, of relatively equal importance. But that ideal was being pulled in several different directions: by the two heavyweights, grammar (which included literature — close to our 'classics' narrowly conceived), and logic, respectively, plus, to a lesser extent, by the quadrivium's cousin, natural philosophy, a latecomer to the tussle who was, at this moment, the ninety-five-pound weakling. John of Salisbury stood in the middle of the first two contestants, trying to mediate between them, fiercely loyal to the belletristic studies of his youth but enthusiastically open to the latest translations of the Organon, the *logica nova*.

Logic won. Decisively. That victory is on view in 1215 with the legislation of Innocent III's legate, Cardinal Robert of Courçon, for the university that had by then formed in Paris.⁴ All students, he decreed, were required to take courses in the full complement of Aristotle's logic — a success that came at the expense

² This account, necessarily brief, is based on a rich and burgeoning bibliography. An enjoyable entry to this literature is provided by two masters of the topic, Riché and Verger, *Des Nains sur des épaules de géants*. For the changing atmosphere in the high medieval classroom, see the important but often overlooked article by Leclerq, 'Lo sviluppo dell'atteggiamento critico degli allievi verso i maestri', which constitutes an initial foray into some of the territory covered below.

³ Whether John spent the years from 1138 to 1141 in Chartres or not is irrelevant to our purpose; what is certain is that he was a student this whole time and thus well-placed to observe the contemporary educational scene. An excellent place to start on the career of John of Salisbury is now Nederman, *John of Salisbury*.

⁴ Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, 1, 78–80 (no. 20).

of grammar and rhetoric, both of which had clearly suffered a demotion. In the meantime, other Aristotelian texts had now become easily available in Latin translation: part of the *Ethics* (only Books I–III then circulated widely) plus most of the so-called *libri naturales* (which included the *Metaphysics*), Aristotle's books on nature. Robert allowed classes on the *Ethics* as an 'elective', but because the *libri naturales* had recently been implicated in heresy in and around Paris, he forbade the latter for instructional use. Clearly a major shift in educational ideals had occurred from the time of John of Salisbury.

What is more, another major shift was already under way and is clearly visible in our last 'image'. The year is 1255, and the faculty of Arts had taken upon itself the task of redefining the course requirements for the Master of Arts. The core curriculum henceforth was to comprise virtually the entire Aristotelian corpus, including the formerly banned *libri naturales*. (Viewed from our perspective, the only significant omissions would have been the *Politics* and the *Poetics*.) What we might describe as a faculty of arts and sciences had transformed itself into a faculty of philosophy.

What has not heretofore received sufficient attention from historians is the extent to which students drove this curricular change. Anselm provides some striking testimony for the spirit animating the medieval educational revolution near its very start. It is 1075, and we are at the Norman monastery of Bec. Some young monks whom Anselm was teaching put to him the following request, that he discuss 'the divine essence and some other issues of this sort' by means of reason alone, without making use of 'the authority of scripture'.

Next, consider Abelard's experience about a half-century later. On Abelard's own telling, the composition of his *De unitate et trinitate Dei* (c. 1120) was prompted by students in his classroom pressing him 'for human and philosophical reasons and importuning more for what could be understood than what could be said'. And just in case he missed their meaning, they added the following:

⁵ Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, 1, 277–79 (no. 246).

⁶ d'Irsay, Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères, 1, 169.

⁷ 'Quidam fratres saepe me studioseque precati sunt, ut quaedam, quae illis de meditandi divinitatis essentia et quibusdam aliis huiusmodi meditationi cohaerentibus usitato sermone colloquendo protuleram [...]. Cuius scilicet scribendae meditationis magis secundum suam voluntatem quam secundum rei facilitatem aut meam possibilitatem hanc mihi formam praestituerunt: quatenus auctoritate scipturae penitus nihil in ea persuaderetur, sed quidquid per singulas investigationes finis assereret, id ita esse plano stilo et vulgaribus argumentis simplicique disputatione et rationis necessitas breviter cogeret.' Anselm, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, 1, 7. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

That the utterance of words was superfluous unless it were followed by understanding, that nothing could be believed unless [it were] first understood, and that it was ridiculous for someone to preach to others what neither he nor those whom he taught could grasp with the intellect.⁸

Abelard himself serves as a bridge between these two generations. Abelard was not, of course, *sui generis*. As an adolescent — this would be the 1090s — Abelard was one of many his age who, fired with a passion for dialectical jousting, went off in search of a teacher. Eventually becoming a teacher himself and enjoying 'among all his contemporaries such repute in logic that it was believed he alone possessed Aristotle's skill of discourse', Abelard attracted students wherever he went. Yes, Abelard was brilliant, dynamic, witty, sharp-tongued; his classroom performances must have been fast paced, stimulating, and fun — all of which explains something of the greatness of his success. But we should not lose sight of the fact that this success was partly the product of a larger cultural trend and that he was selling students a commodity they already wanted.

Young people were not interested in repeating old truths, but discovering new ones. They wanted to know the reasons for things and they wanted to think for themselves. (Is all of this not still true today?) They also came to believe they had found the tool to do just that in Aristotle's Organon. Moreover, they had nearterm, practical concerns as well as career goals in mind. How long will I need to study? How long can I afford to study? What will I do with my education? What will I do with my life? Consequently, students were increasingly impatient with a curriculum based on long years of mastering the niceties of Latin style engen-

- ⁸ 'Accidit autem mihi ut ad ipsum fidei nostre fundamentum humane rationis similitudinibus disserendum primo me applicarem, et quendam theologie tractatum *De Unitate et Trinitate divina* scolaribus nostris componerem, qui humanas et philosophicas rationes requirebant, et plus que intelligi quam que dici possent efflagitabant: dicentes quidem verborum superfluam esse prolationem quam intelligentia non sequeretur, nec credi posse aliquid nisi primitus intellectum, et ridiculosum esse aliquem aliis predicare quod nec ipse nec illi quos doceret intellectu capere possent.' Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. by Monfrin, pp. 82–83.
- ⁹ 'Peripateticus Palatinus qui logicae opinionem praeripuit omnibus coaetaneis suis, adeo ut solus Aristotilis crederetur usus colloquio.' John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, p. 20.
- ¹⁰ Compare John of Salisbury's view of the educational situation: see Ward, 'The Date of the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* by Thierry of Chartres'. For the reaction of Thierry of Chartres, see also Häring, 'Thierry of Chartres and Dominicus Gundissalinus', esp. p. 277. Thierry's complaint is edited in full by Karin Margareta Fredborg in her edition of Thierry's Ciceronian rhetorical commentaries: Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 49 and 107–08.

dered by reading and imitating the 'classic' literary *auctores*. And they were not at all afraid to make their sentiments known to their elders. The traditionalists groused in response.

Gerald of Wales tells a story about a father who, ridiculing his son's study of 'the net-like cleverness of logic' in Paris, sends him back again to learn literature. With something of a guilty conscience, Gerald admits that, as a young man, he had studied logic in Paris 'with eagerness and a passion for praise'. Peter of Blois, entrusted with the education of a friend's two nephews, was clearly unhappy that the older of the two had skipped over grammar and the classics and 'hurried to the subtleties of logic'. John of Salisbury bemoaned the fact that the typical student 'praises Aristotle alone' and 'scorns Cicero'. Some of his former academic colleagues, John tells us disparagingly, followed courses on logic for years on end, to the exclusion of the other liberal arts. And he humourously described how students would ridicule the teachers whom they considered to be old fashioned and out of touch:

If you 'taste' the *auctores*, if you review the writings of the ancients [...] From everywhere they shout: 'Where's this old ass going? Why does he repeat to us the words or deeds of [these] old people? We are wise on our own, our youth has taught itself. Our group doesn't accept the dogmas of the ancients. We don't accept to follow the words
Of those authors whom Greece has and Rome honours.'16

- ¹¹ 'Pater autem advertens eum [i.e., his son] logicis nugis et non literaturae operam adhibuisse [...] et sic filium tam facete delusum et vanis ac frivolis studuisse deprehensum Parisius, non ad reticulatas logicorum argutias, sed ad literaturam totis nisibus addiscendam iterato remisit.' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. by Brewer, II: *Gemma ecclesiastica* (1862), p. 350.
- ¹² 'Item accessit aliquando ad me in logica tunc temporis facultate, juvenilibus videlicet annis, magno Parisius cum ardore et laudis amore studentem.' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. by Brewer, II: *Gemma ecclesiastica* (1862), p. 350.
- ¹³ 'Willelmum [...] grammatice et auctorum scientia pretermisso volavit ad versutias logicorum'; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, I, pp. 27–29 (no. 25) (p. 28).
- ¹⁴ 'Ut juvenis discat plurima, pauca legat, Laudet Aristotelem solum, spernit Ciceronem.' John of Salisbury, *Entheticus Maior and Minor*, ed. and trans. by Van Laarhoven, I, 113.
- ¹⁵ 'Iucundum itaque uisum est, ueteres quos reliqueram et quos adhuc dialectica detinebat in monte reuisere socios [...]. Inuenti sunt qui fuerant et ubi. Neque enim ad palmum uisi sunt processisse. Ad quaestiones pristinas dirimendas, nec propositiunculam unam adiecerant. Quibus urgebant stimulis, eisdem et ipsi urgebantur.' John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, pp. 72–73.
 - ¹⁶ 'Si sapis auctores, veterum si scripta recenses [...] undique clamabunt: "Vetus hic quo

John was a passionate and eloquent advocate of what we still call a 'liberal' or 'classical' education: this was the ideal he touted again and again in his writings; it was one that he tried to follow in his studies. But this ideal had already become obsolete in his own lifetime.

Trends visible in the twelfth century look forward to fundamental changes in the educational landscape in the thirteenth. Robert of Courçon's legislation reflected the majority consensus view of his former colleagues at the university. As we have seen above, logic was deemed too important for its study to be left to chance: it was required. Lots of it: virtually the entire Organon cover to cover. While a basic mastery of Latin was deemed necessary upon starting the programme, little was done to strengthen students' language skills, and the reading of literature was now something to be pursued on one's own; the grammar that was offered was oriented towards the subject as a theoretical science. While rhetoric was certainly taught, it does not seem to have been a big student 'draw'. 17 The grammar teacher John of Garland bemoaned the demise of the classical authors and their modern imitators in Paris, and called for their revival. 18 The respective places held by logic and grammar at the university in the early thirteenth century are vividly portrayed in Henri d'Andeli's poem La Bataille des Sept Arts (1236-50). Henri imagines a pitched military engagement between Logic and Grammar along with their allies in the course of which the latter is badly defeated and forced to withdraw. In Paris, he says, 'Logic has the students in her hands, whereas Grammar is left sitting on hers'. 19 And when John Pecham describes the education of a young man — probably himself c. 1245–50 — he has him express 'delight' ('delectabar') in his logical studies, but of classical literature there is nary a word.20

A similar story of student pressure prompting curricular change is played out with respect to the *libri naturales*. Along with the flood-tide of interest in logic,

tendit asellus? Cur veterum nobis dicta vel acta refert? A nobis sapimus, docuit se nostra iuventus, non recipit veterum dogmata nostra cohors. Non onus accipimus, ut eorum verba sequamur, quos habet auctores Graecia, Roma colit." John of Salisbury, *Entheticus Maior and Minor*, ed. and trans. by Van Laarhoven, p. 107.

¹⁷ Ward, 'Rhetoric in the Faculty of Arts'.

¹⁸ 'Lex talis detur, id quod cecidit revocetur.' John of Garland, *Morale scholarium*, ed. by Paetow, p. 224.

¹⁹ 'Logique a les clers en ses mains | Et Gramaire rest mise au mains'; d'Andeli, *The Battle of the Seven Arts*, ed. by Paetow, p. 39.

²⁰ Stimulus amoris, pp. 133–205 (pp. 133–39), with the description of his logical studies on p. 135.

we also see a steadily mounting curiosity about nature and a corresponding fascination with science. A contemporary of Abelard's, Adelard of Bath, will serve as a nice introduction to the phenomenon. As a young man, Adelard travelled to southern Italy (including Sicily) and the Near East in order to put himself to school with what he would later describe as 'Arab masters'. Once back home, he worked at science as well as propagandizing for science. In his *Quaestiones naturales*, he describes a (fictional) conversation between himself and a student-nephew. Not only does the nephew want to know, 'using reason alone and keeping away from the flattery of authority, whether [God] exists or not, and what he is, and what he does,'22 he is filled with questions about the natural world. And, with the almost predictable impetuosity of the young, he likes to give his uncle a hard time, hounding him at every turn, and taking nothing for granted.

In the decades around the turn of the twelfth century, this interest in nature caught the attention of a number of contemporaries. For example, Peter of Blois rehearses with obvious bitterness an overlong list of topics covered by contemporary students — a list dominated by questions of natural philosophy: 'what time is, what empty space, [...] the causes of things, the tides of the ocean, the sources of the Nile, various secrets of latent nature [...]'.²³ Absalon of St Victor echoes Peter's comment:

Those who, puffed up with vain philosophy, are happy when they subtly investigate many things, namely [...] the ordering of the globe, the whirl of the elements, the beginning and end of the seasons [...] the place of the stars, the nature of animals [...]: it seems that the goal of their studies is this — to reach with an acute eye of the mind the causes of things!²⁴

²¹ 'Ego enim aliud a magistris Arabici'; Adelard of Bath, *Conversations*, ed. and trans. by Burnett, *Quaestiones naturales*, pp. 81–227 (p. 102).

²² 'a te quidem utrum sit vel non sit, et quid etiam sit, quidve agat, ratione sola auctoritatis adulatione exclusa audire desidero'; Adelard of Bath, *Conversations*, ed. and trans. by Burnett, p. 226, with the translation on the following page.

²³ 'Quidam antequam disciplinis elementaribus imbuantur, docentur inquirere [...] quid sit tempus, quid inane [...] de causis rerum, de refluxione oceani, de ortu Nili, de variis latentis nature secretis'; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, I, 28 (no. 25).

²⁴ 'sunt illi qui tumentes inani philosophia, gaudent se multa subtiliter investigasse, scilicet [...] dispositionem orbis terrae, verticem elementorum, initium et consummationem temporum [...] dispositiones stellarum, naturas animalium [...]: finem studiorum suorum in hoc constituentes, ut rerum causas perspicaci mentis oculo videantur attigisse'; Absalon of St Victor, Sermones festivales, ed. by Migne, col. 264.

Alexander Nequam criticized those 'superfluous investigations in which the flower of youth is consumed'. 25

Already before 1200, professors in Paris were offering courses on the libri naturales. 26 Demand for such courses only increased in following decades, in spite of — and perhaps even because of? — the ban imposed in 1215 and the threat of excommunication for its contravention; indeed, demand both overwhelmed and undermined the ban.²⁷ During the 1220s, that demand fuelled clandestine classes on the books.²⁸ Enterprising teachers — including advanced students, the so-called *bachelors* in arts or theology — had to take the lead and offer such classes, to be sure, but student interest prompted the offers in the first place and kept those classes going. Relevant in this connection is the Parisian theologian Gautier of Château-Thierry's complaint of just around this time about professors who 'lectured for money on Sundays and holidays' and students 'who delighted in short masses' and long classes.²⁹ Henri d'Andeli described the situation in Paris this way: 'As for the arts students, they care for naught except to read the books of nature.'30 And note how John of Garland tried in 1229 to take advantage of students' desire for lectures on the libri naturales as a way of enticing them to a new university foundation in the south of France (Toulouse) sponsored by the papacy. 'Here', he claimed, 'those who wish to scrutinize the essential marrow of nature can hear the books of Aristotle that were forbidden at Paris'. During the 1230s, ecclesiastical opposition to the *libri naturales* dissipated; in the 1240s

²⁵ 'Sed inquisitiones reprehendo superfluas, in quibus flos iuuenilis etatis consumitur'; cited in Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister*, p. 83, n. 84.

²⁶ We have no hard, definitive evidence for this, but it is implied, for example, by the synodal prohibition of 1210 (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, I, 70 (no. 1)), whose stipulations with respect to Aristotle Robert of Courçon essentially repeated five years later.

²⁷ That part of the attraction of the *libri naturales* was that they were forbidden, I take from Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities*, pp. 141–42.

²⁸ That such classes were taking place, see *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, 1, 143 (no. 86).

²⁹ 'Illi qui pro argento diebus dominicis et festivis legunt'; Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 55, n. 6; 'Contra illos qui gaudent de brevitate misssarum et longitudine lectionum et diisputationum' (p. 57, n. 5).

³⁰ 'Et li arcien n'ont mès cure | Lire fors livres de nature'; d'Andeli, *The Battle of the Seven Arts*, ed. by Paetow, p. 44.

³¹ 'Libros naturales, qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti, poterunt illic audire qui volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari;' *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, I, 131 (no. 72).

these texts became a regular feature of undergraduate coursework; by the middle of the next decade they were required for the undergraduate degree. And what we know as a 'classical' education would only reappear in university curricula with the Renaissance several hundred years later. To what degree students drove *that* revolution is another story.

We might conclude this section with a general observation. Young people are attracted to what is new and different and even to that which is labelled 'dangerous' or 'forbidden', to what challenges the status quo, to the criticism of authority, to the rejection of tradition. Sometime around 1200, Stephen, Bishop of Tournai, former Abbot of St Geneviève and himself a product of the schools, inveighed against 'students [who] applaud only novelties' — already by this time a stock complaint — along with 'masters [...] [who] serve unfamiliar and exotic courses for their guests [...] [and] compose new and fresh compendia and commentaries on theology by which they entrance, engage, and deceive their hearers.'32 According to the theologian Guiard of Laon, masters taught 'unheard-of things' in order to bring the students in to their classes.³³ Whether professors went about it so cynically and deliberately is uncertain, but what is true is that, as Léo Moulin has observed, a 'liberté d'esprit [...] charms the young [...] Scandal pleases young souls'.34 Take Abelard as an example. Part of what drew students to Abelard was his being controversial, irreverent, and iconoclastic; his contempt for his elders, his embrace of novelty, his willingness to question everything. 'By doubting we come to questioning; by questioning we grasp the truth.'35 Historians have rightly corrected those modern readers who have taken these words out of context both the context of the twelfth century and the context of Abelard's own life and seen Abelard as a pre-Enlightenment philosophe. In trying to avoid anachronism, however, historians have often underplayed just how radical these words really were. That they were radical we can see in Bernard of Clairvaux's violent

³² 'discipuli solis novatibus applaudunt, et magistri [...] novas recentesque summulas et commentaria firmantia super theologia passim conscribunt, quibus auditores suos demulceant, detineant, decipiant [...] Ignota et peregrina convivis suis apponunt fercula [...]'; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, I, 47–48 (no. 48). I have reversed the second and third segments of the quotation in my translation above.

³³ 'In discipulis coluntur magistri qui inaudita dicunt'; Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 55 and n. 5.

³⁴ Moulin, *La Vie des étudiants au moyen âge*, p. 178. Moulin agrees with Guiard that the professors were being manipulative, but I remain sceptical.

³⁵ 'dubitando quippe ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus'; Abelard, *Sic et non*, ed. by Boyer and McKeon, 1, 103.

reaction to Abelard's teaching.³⁶ And it is such questioning — formalized in the classroom exercise called the *disputatio* — that leads us to the second part of this chapter.

* * *

Students are important in the story of medieval education not only because they helped to determine the content of the undergraduate curriculum in Paris: in several other ways besides, they had a large impact on what went on in the classroom. As we will see below, student questioning: 1) played a role in the functioning of that distinctive form of medieval pedagogy, the *disputatio*; 2) pushed professors to think about Aristotle in new ways and thus improved their understanding of his work; and, 3) had a hand in the string of controversies that dogged Aristotle's philosophy through the thirteenth century.

1) It is commonly believed that the medieval student was passive and that he learned by rote. Such an idea contains some measure of truth (it is even 'true' of our own students, is it not?) but there is a whole lot more to it. By c. 1200, classroom teaching, like the institution of the university itself, had pretty much taken on its distinctive shape. Teaching had two aspects: *lectio* and *disputatio*. *Lectio* (lecture) involved the reading of a book out loud by a master, line by line, accompanied by a running commentary that explained difficult words and passages and elucidated the author's meaning and intention. The commentary also included some basic handling of *quaestiones* — more substantial interpretative cruxes requiring a broader perspective on the entire body of an author's work.

The medieval lecture is still saddled with a negative stereotype — the result of generalizing on the basis of a partial reading of the available evidence. For example, we read the dry *reportationes* of lectures with the master seemingly droning on and on, citing long-dead authorities on this side of an issue and that, mechanically raising a series of straw-man objections to what we could well judge to be a preordained conclusion. Or again, we find in the manuscripts images of the medieval arts classroom, with boys sitting on the floor and a much older professor at a big lectern with a big book dominating both the room and the proceedings. We notice no warmth between master and student, no student hands in the air, no sign of any scholarly exchange. Just, we think, the perfunctory delivery of information, 'truths', the approbated words of a text. The authority of the professor channelling the authority of an Aristotle or a Ptolemy. And we are tempted to conclude from all this that the students there at the foot of the master were subservient and inert. But to do so would be quite mistaken.

³⁶ On the battle royal between Abelard and Bernard, the interested reader can consult M.T. Clanchy's superb biography, Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, esp. pp. 306–22.

Because books were so expensive, lecturing was standard operating procedure virtually from the start of the medieval educational revolution. The lectio was clearly the professor's show, we might say, with the space around his lectern the stage. But as in any well-run classroom, there was audience participation in the form of student questions. What could be a ceaseless barrage of them, apparently — William of Conches complained about it.³⁷ Abelard's behaviour vis-àvis his teachers, with his queries, interjections, and challenges, was not unique; other teachers, Abelard included, received similar treatment.³⁸ And the very same phenomenon is seen in the thirteenth century. One amusing example of student impertinence comes in connection with Roger Bacon's teaching during the 1240s. When Bacon, following the consensus view, stated that a certain name appearing in De plantis was Arabic, the Spanish-speaking members of his class had a good laugh at his expense upon informing him that it came from their native vernacular.³⁹ Around the same time, some teenage boy posed a difficult (and insightful) question of an unknown Arts professor concerning the vexed issue of projectile motion. 40 That some give-and-take between teacher and student was perfectly routine is shown by the fact that it is routinely pictured in manuscript images.⁴¹

- ³⁷ 'Discipuli etiam culpa non carent, qui, relicta pythagoricae doctrinae forma, qua constitutum erat discipulum septem annis audire et credere, octauo demum interrogare, ex quo scolas intrant, antequam sedeant, interrogant; immo, quod deterius est, iudicant.' William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*, ed. by Ronca, p. 4.
- ³⁸ Abelard's behaviour is described: 'cum quo aliquantulum moratus, primo ei acceptus, postmodum gravissimus extiti, cum nonnullas scilicet ejus sententias refellere conarer et ratiocinari contra eum sepius aggrederer et nonnumquam superior in disputanto viderer'; Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. by Monfrin, p. 64. Similarly, Abelard is challenged in class by Goswin: see Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, pp. 91–92. Walter of Mortagne, 'argutus et acutus, ei [i.e., Master Alberic] frequenter opponebat'; Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, III, 1712.
- ³⁹ See Théry, 'Note sur l'aventure *bélénienne* de Roger Bacon' (though the author mistakenly has Bacon as a student at the time).
- ⁴⁰ Lectura in librum 'De anima', ed. by Gauthier, p. 102. And note Gauthier's remark: 'l'élève n'était point sot' (p. 16).
- ⁴¹ Here are two examples from *c*. 1300: UCLA, Young Research Libr., MS Rouse 80, fol. 85^r shows a master seated before a lectern on which we see a large book to which he is pointing with his finger; below him sits a student who is similarly motioning to the book. The image can be seen on the front cover of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies' brochure for 2007–08. Cf. the similar image (Toulouse, BM, MS 418, fol. 116^r) found in *Histoire culturelle de la France*, ed. by Rioux and Sirinelli, I: *Le Moyen Âge* (1997), p. 148 (in this case, the student is gesturing to a book in his own possession). Other images showing what appears to be teacher-student interaction are Paris, BnF, fr. 2030, fol. 1^r (*c*. 1300); Tours, BM, 679, fol. 58^r (s. xiv in.); Wien, ÖNB, 2564, fol. 275^r (s. xiv).

If we are pleasantly surprised to learn that the *lectio* was not unlike our modern lecture experience, the *disputatio* completely confounds our expectations: it was as if every medieval student were required to have been a member of the debate team. ⁴² For our purposes, we can distinguish three occasions for disputations: privately in the master's school on some kind of regular schedule; formal university-wide events held once a week that were open to everyone; and those that were part of the graduation exercises during Lent for soon-to-be masters. The first of the disputes just described was supervised by the teacher, who proposed the topic for discussion and at its end would propose the *solutio*. The issue put on the table was always one for which there were good reasons and authorities on both sides. It was the students themselves who were responsible for carrying the disputation forward. As for the public disputes put on before the larger university community, the only students allowed to speak were the bachelors.

The dispute was no mere academic free-for-all: it was a highly organized debate with very strict rules of engagement.⁴³ What is more, all the points made had to meet the standards of logical argument set forth in the Organon. One expert has described the rapid-fire give and take as similar to a game of pingpong, although one might add that the multiplicity of 'players' in a dispute and the complexity of exchanges make it more like a doubles match.⁴⁴

The specific mechanism that made for these distinct sessions is unknown, but any reasonable guess about how it happened has to include students. ⁴⁵ Student contentiousness and love of debate both in and out of the classroom were facts of academic life. Some professors must have found that student queries compromised the flow of the lecture, as did trying to resolve the *questiones* that resulted from conflicting authorities — an important part of their own professional responsibility. The utility of conducting a formal session during which students themselves could practise doing *quaestiones* was recognized, and student feedback, we can imagine, was positive. Professors found that they had more time in

⁴² On the disputatio, see Bazán and others, Les Questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques; Lawn, The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic 'Quaestio disputata'; Weijers, La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts de Paris; and Weijers, La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts au Moyen Âge.

⁴³ This is not to say that things did not get rowdy on occasion, or that participants always manifested the requisite discipline and politeness. There were interruptions of all sorts — scholarly and otherwise: see n. 50 below.

⁴⁴ Bazán and others, Les Questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques, p. 64.

⁴⁵ I build here upon the explanation of Davy, *Les Sermons universitaires parisiens*, p. 43. For an image of a *disputatio* that pictures student participation, see Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, Va 3, fol. 205^v (s. xiii).

lectures, as some of the thorny issues they had had to deal with were now postponed for separate extended discussion; the disputes also provided the opportunity for them to treat issues they wanted to explore in more detail. Yet another benefit was that this turned out to be a successful way to channel the eagerness and excitement of students that had been disrupting and threatening to overwhelm the *lectio*. By the end of the twelfth century, *disputationes* had become routine for both arts and theology.

2) The most successful and highly regarded teachers (at least in the minds of the students) were those who encouraged and harnessed these student energies, turning students into active participants in the learning process. But this was pedagogically useful not only for the student but also for the teacher. Historians have become increasingly aware of how some of the questions or objections that we encounter in commentaries were those that had been put by students. 46 Indeed it seems possible that in stock phrases like 'aliquis diceret' or 'sed contra' we might on occasion be able to catch wind of more than a few student voices. Such student contributions ought not surprise us. How many times have we seen the 'Acknowledgements' at the front of some scholarly volume in which the author thanks, among others, his students? Anyone who has taught has had that satisfying experience wherein student questions have prompted the rethinking of an issue or even a completely new thought. The very same thing happened in the medieval classroom. So, Abelard's pestering attacks finally forced his teacher William of Champeaux to change his position on universals. ⁴⁷ Roger Bacon's students pushed him to modify his view with respect to grafting and the souls of plants.⁴⁸

The writings that we have of Aristotle are notoriously difficult to navigate; indeed on some issues scholars still remain at sea about Aristotle's exact meaning. Commentaries and other works of Aristotelian scholarship by, among others,

⁴⁶ Lectura in librum 'De anima', ed. by Gauthier, p. 16; Weijers, La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts de Paris, p. 42, and Weijers, La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts au Moyen Âge, pp. 25, 87. Probably lots of student contributions were excised during the 'publication' process wherein the raw notes from class were transformed into the reportatio. Here are two examples of the traditional view of students: 'the master frequently raised his own objections while commenting on the text' (Weisheipl, 'The Parisian Faculty of Arts in Mid-Thirteenth Century', p. 213); 'if Gentile [da Foligno] cannot find a known opinion to disagree with, he has to put one in the mouth of an interlocutor, generally a student-figure' (French, 'Where the Philosopher Finishes, the Physician Begins', p. 99).

⁴⁷ 'inter cetera disputationum nostrarum conamina antiquam ejus de universalibus sententiam patentissimis argumentorum rationibus ipsum commutare, immo destruere compuli'; Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. by Monfrin, p. 65.

⁴⁸ Easton, Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science, pp. 62, 64–66.

Alexander of Aphrodisias and Averroes helped readers to get their bearings. But so did talking Aristotle through. And this is where students came in. Students not only listened to their professors trying to articulate and explain Aristotle's positions on this or that; students actively aided that process by asking lots of tough questions — sometimes deliberately, just to put their teachers on the spot; sometimes innocently, because they were genuinely confused and sought clarification. The consequence was that a course on the *Metaphysics*, say, became a collaborative effort involving teachers *and* students in puzzling out Aristotle's thinking, and the classroom became a kind of laboratory in which interpretations and 'truths' were tested. ⁴⁹ This was especially important early on, when almost the entire Aristotelian encyclopaedia was now available in Latin translation for the first time, when masters were just coming to grips with the *libri naturales*, and when few commentaries were yet available to help them (Averroes' Great Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, for example, was only translated *c*. 1225). Student questions and arguments sped up assimilation of the Aristotelian corpus.

3) Students were involved in the controversies that attended the reception of the Aristotelian corpus to an extent much larger than most historians have allowed. This goes well beyond the general sense of scandal felt by traditionalists, whose ideal was the respectful calm and quiet decorum of the monastic classroom, when they saw and heard what was taking place at the university: students making impudent remarks during lecture; disputes that included rude and raucous behaviour like shouting and hissing;⁵⁰ teenage boys taught by young twenty-somethings who just a few years previously had themselves been students ('long-haired adolescents' and 'beardless [fellows]', Stephen of Tournai snipes).⁵¹

One cause of consternation and concern was the fact that Aristotle's 'a-Christian', even — as some saw it — anti-Christian, philosophy was being presented without rebuttal in lecture: Aristotle's Supreme Deity, for example, is not provi-

⁴⁹ On the collaborative nature of disputes specifically, see Aquinas, *Quæstiones disputatæ*, ed. by Mandonnet, I, 12–13.

⁵⁰ Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 62; Kenny and Pinborg, 'Medieval Philosophical Literature', p. 24. Later testimony regarding misbehaviour in class includes mention of banging (presumably by means of feet on the floor) and throwing stones; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, II, 504 (no. 1040); III, 39 (no. 1229).

⁵¹ 'facultates quas liberales appellant amissa libertate pristina in tantam servitutem devocantur, comatuli adolescentes earum magisteria impudentes usurpent, et in cathedra seniorum sedeant imberbes, et qui nondum norunt esse discipuli laborant ut nomenentur magistri'; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. by Denifle and Chatelain, I, no. 48, p. 48. This too was a common observation and complaint: see John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. by Hall and Keats-Rohan, p. 55; *The Goliard Poets*, trans. by Whicher, pp. 142–43.

dential, paying no attention whatsoever to the universe, and Aristotle seems to deny the possibility of creation, instead maintaining an eternal universe. But the responsibility of the Arts professor was not catechetical; what took place in the classroom was not what children receive today in 'Sunday school' after church services. The teacher's job was simply to present — neutrally, objectively — Aristotle's words and thoughts on their own terms, as a self-sufficient system, and to view issues exclusively through the lens of reason.

What must have been equally worrisome was what was going on in disputations generally, let alone what was being said during the sessions themselves. For the debate to be successful, someone had to play the role of 'devil's advocate', supporting positions that were sometimes problematic and even unorthodox. This must have seemed improper, to say the least: why provide arguments for what is clearly mistaken? There was also no thought of 'right' or 'wrong' in such discussions; it was the responsibility of the *respondens* (the person who argued *pro*) or *opponens* (the person who argued *contra*) to make the point his own, no matter what he felt in his heart of hearts: to unsympathetic outsiders all of this must have seemed to convey the idea that there is no absolute truth. And having students, youngsters — 'boys who do not know how to judge about such difficult matters', as Thomas Aquinas observed — attend and even participate in disputes that dealt with issues as difficult as the nature of the soul and creation *ex nihilo* must have seemed the height of irresponsibility. For some critics, disputes only subverted faith and morals.

So just the fact of there being lectures and disputations on Aristotelian philosophy prompted serious misgivings on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. On occasion they were downright shocked by what was going on in the classroom. Sometimes, it is true, the shock seems to have been the result of what we in academia know as a rather common phenomenon, namely, students snitching to the powers that be based on their mishearing or misunderstanding what had been said by their professor: some of the hot water Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers found themselves in, for example, was based on incorrect reports about their teaching.⁵⁴ But students also posed questions or made assertions that,

⁵² 'non loquatur [...] coram pueris qui nesciunt de tam arduis iudicare'; Aquinas, *L'Unité de l'intellect contre les averroïstes*, trans. by De Libera, p. 196.

⁵³ 'Carissimi, istis diebus morae sunt quaestiones multae et disputatae de quodlibet; nec est mihi dubium quod multae inutiles et supervacuae, nihil pertinentes ad aedificationem fidei et morum, set potius ad subversionem.' Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III (1891), 111.

⁵⁴ On Abelard, see Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*, pp. 95–96, 107, 171–72; on Gilbert, see John of Salisbury, *Memoirs of the Papal Court*, trans. by Chibnall, pp. 15, 22.

whether intentionally or not, were provocative. So in a class on the *Physics* VIII and the vexed issue of the eternity of the universe, a student of Roger Bacon's asked, 'on the assumption that the world is not *ab eterno*, nor motion, nor even time, whether it were possible that the world was from eternity although it was not according to the truth?'55 Or consider in this connection Siger of Brabant's course on the *De anima*, when one student wondered 'whether the separated soul can suffer from some natural element like fire' — a question that Siger characterized with what seems to be a bit of pique as 'not very philosophical',⁵⁶ being aware, no doubt, that answering would take both Aristotle and himself into dangerous theological territory. As Malcolm de Mowbray has shown, the long lead-up to the Condemnation of 1277 along with the Condemnation itself that was issued by Bishop Stephen Tempier, was fuelled in no small part by statements made by students during disputes who, when called upon to defend themselves, took refuge in the claim that 'the Philosopher says [such and such], but they themselves do not agree; on the contrary they are only reciting his words'.⁵⁷

* * *

Given our current assumptions about higher education, namely, that faculty determine both the content and the form of university teaching and that students are simply in school to learn, we might well think that students matter but little in determining the direction of the university, and that they are acted upon rather than actors. While it is true that students nowadays, at least in the United States, seem a rather passive lot, such assumptions do not hold absolutely. Recall the 1960s and 70s, when students not only marched and protested but helped to bring about great changes in university curricula. The High Middle Ages provide another counter-example of student activism.

⁵⁵ 'Set tunc dubitatur, supposito quod mundus non fuerit ab eterno nec motus nec etiam tempus, utrum sit possibile mundum fuisse ab eterno, quamvis non fuisset secundum veritatem.' Bacon, *Opera hactenus*, ed. by Steele, XIII (1935), 390. On the exchange, see Easton, *Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science*, pp. 56–58.

⁵⁶ 'Quaeritur consequenter de anima in statu separationis, et est quaestio non multum philosophica, scilicet utrum anima separate pati possit ab aliqua natura elentari, ut ab igne;' Siger de Brabant, *Quaestiones in tertium*, ed. by Bazán, p. 31. In supposing that this question was asked by a student, I follow De Mowbray, '1277 and All That', pp. 225–26.

⁵⁷ See De Mowbray, '1277 and All That'; Mowbray, 'The *De aeternitate mundi* of Boethius of Dacia'; and 'The *De unitate intellectus* of Thomas Aquinas and the Parisian Averroists', forthcoming. The quotation comes from a sermon of Thomas Aquinas: 'dicunt quod philosophus dicit hoc, sed ipsi non asserunt: imo solum recitant verba philosophi'; Aquinas, *Opera omnia*, xxIV (1869), 228.

A distinguished historian of the medieval university, Alan Cobban, has spoken famously of 'medieval student power'. Writing in the midst of the last 'student revolution', Cobban was consciously reflecting something of what he was witnessing in his own time. Just what students were capable of in the Middle Ages is best on view for him at the University of Bologna and other student-run institutions, where graduate students hired the professors and regulated what classes were taught. Because 'medieval student power' was, according to Cobban, organized and collective, he focuses his attention on what was going on in the graduate programmes in southern Europe; falling outside of his definition, undergraduates in Arts are briefly considered but then set aside. In doing this, however, Cobban has closed the door too quickly on the *artistae* specifically and northern students generally. What is more, when he says that 'medieval students broadly acquiesced in current educational assumptions and none of their rebellions had, as its aim, what could be called the widening or modernization of the syllabus,'⁵⁹ it is clear that his statement is inexact.

We have seen on the preceding pages the ability of students in Paris during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to influence programmes of study, the content of courses, and pedagogical practice. Student demand for logic, and later the *libri naturales*, surmounted the resistance to the teaching of these subjects that came from theological conservatives and educational traditionalists. Moreover, students profoundly affected not only what of the Aristotelian corpus was studied, but how that study was carried out. And they greatly affected the very understanding of Aristotle: the impressive progress made in Aristotelian scholarship during the High Middle Ages is inconceivable without them.

The foregoing constitutes an impressive list of accomplishments. Add in the role of Parisian students in changing the tone of intellectual life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in driving forward the university movement, in preparing those many *reportationes* on which we – like their own professors – have relied in order to know what was said in the classroom, and in pushing their teachers

⁵⁸ Cobban, 'Medieval Student Power', p. 32.

⁵⁹ Cobban, 'Medieval Student Power', p. 32. To be fair to Cobban, I should note that this sentence begins with the words 'it would appear that [...]'. But consider this more definitive statement on p. 31: 'Nor were student protest movements concerned with the content of university courses if by this is meant the selection of the ingredients of the syllabus or curriculum.' In an article unknown to Cobban, Ward observed that John of Salisbury's Cornifician movement might be seen as 'the northern parallel [...] to the surge of student "power" that characterized Bologna's evolution': see Ward, 'Educational Crisis and the Genesis of Universities in Medieval Europe', p. 15.

to speak to certain issues and even compose some of their works, it becomes extraordinary. Considered collectively through the centuries, university students have been, by and large, quiescent. When they so choose, however, they can be a powerful force indeed. But even when students are 'just' being students, they are affecting the enterprise of education in a myriad of ways. Aristotle and the classics, after all, still attract a steady student clientele.

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TEACHING TECHNIQUES: THE EVIDENCE OF MANUSCRIPT SCHOOLBOOKS PRODUCED IN TUSCANY

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he first stage of the Italian medieval and Renaissance school curriculum consisted of learning to read; this skill was always acquired through the medium of the Latin language. For pupils who continued to study Latin (for which grammar was a synonym), the next step was learning the parts of speech and memorizing the varying forms (morphology) of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and participles. Immediately after morphology, pupils were introduced to reading elementary Latin texts (the so-called minor authors). The following stage for Latin pupils was studying syntax and learning how to compose their own phrases, sentences, and short exercises; this level was accompanied by reading more Latin texts. At the end of the Latin syllabus, pupils were composing their own letters and reading more advanced texts, including the Roman classics (the so-called major authors). At this final stage, Latin stylistics, taught by reference to simplified rhetorical treatises, were introduced.¹

The techniques for learning to read were straightforward, if unfamiliar today. First, pupils mastered the names and sounds of the letters of the alphabet with the aid of an alphabet sheet (*tabula* or *carta*). Then the sounds of syllables were learned by reading already familiar prayers contained in the so-called psalter. The

^{*} The following abbreviations will be used: ASF = Firenze, Archivio di Stato; BML = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; BNCF = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale; BRF = Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana; nn = not numbered.

¹ On the Italian reading and grammar curriculum, see Black, *Humanism and Education*; Gehl, *A Moral Art*; Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 111–271; and Rizzo, *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*, I, 125–217.

final reading skills were attained through a two-stage process. An elementary text (*Ianua*) was first read phonetically without understanding the contents. This was described in contemporary terminology as 'per lo testo', 'a veduta', 'testualiter', or 'cum textu'. The purpose here was to gain the skill of sounding out the syllables on the page phonetically ('compitare' in contemporary terminology). The second stage consisted of reading by memory. *Ianua* was read again, but now the text was actually memorized. Here the contemporary terminology was 'per lo senno', 'cum sensu', 'sensualiter', or 'per l'insenno'. The word 'senno' is ambiguous: on the one hand, it could mean 'sense' but, on the other, it could also signify wits, as in the phrases 'perdere il senno' (to lose one's wits) or 'senno naturale' (mother wit). Similarly the term *sensus* in classical Latin normally meant 'sense', 'understanding', or 'meaning', but in medieval Latin it came to have the further meaning of 'intellect' or 'mind' (as in the phrases 'sensus divinitatis' or 'sensus divinus' meaning 'divine mind'). If interpreted in this latter way, this terminology would mean 'with one's wits or intellect', that is, without the written text and by heart.

In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, comprehension was synonymous with glossing, particularly interlinear word-for-word equivalents. This is why Egbert of Liège wrote, 'You who rummage in the writings of Virgil without glossing them pick only at the shell without tasting the nut'; similarly, Boccaccio found that without glosses, he could not do justice to Statius's *Thebais*. It seems that al senno' did not literally signify comprehension: if al senno' meant with meaning, then one would expect to find glossed manuscript copies of *Ianua*. However, it is a fact that manuscript copies of *Ianua* were not glossed, including two copies that can be linked directly to the city of Florence. Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 3128 is a copy of the text, paired with Cato's *Distichs*, written in *mercantesca* (mercantile script) with some humanist elements and owned by the Florentine elite citizen Papi di Ierello da Filicaia (d. 1530), who implored future borrowers to return the book and protect it from children's hands; the manuscript was later owned by Ierello's relative Tommaso da Filicaia and by Bastiano di Agostino da S. Godenzo. The other Florentine *Ianua* forms part of a school anthology (ASF, Carte Bardi II.179), con-

² 'Qui sine commento rimaris scripta Maronis, | Inmunis nuclei solo de cortice rodis'; Egbert von Lüttich, *Fecunda ratis*, ed. by Voigt, p. 154. All translations in this chapter are mine unless otherwise indicated.

³ 'Nam cum pridem casu fortuito pervenisset ad manus meas liber pulcerrimus [...] emi pro pretio competenti: sed cum sine magistro vel glosis intellectum debitum non attingam' (When a beautiful book came into my hands yesterday by chance, I bought it for a reasonable price, but without a teacher or glosses I could not achieve an adequate understanding). Cited by Billanovich, *Restauri boccacceschi*, p. 75.

taining Cato's *Distichs* and other minor authors and secondary-level grammatical texts; all the texts were copied by the same hand, probably an anonymous teacher or novitiate in the Florentine convent of S. Salvatore di Settimo, working in about 1463, when one of the texts was completed (see below p. 455, n. 18).

After *Ianua* had been memorized, literary texts were immediately introduced. The first was normally Cato's Distichs, followed by other minor authors, such as Aesop, Prosper of Aquitaine, or Prudentius; Boethius's Consolation followed, and eventually some Roman classics (mainly the poets such as Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Virgil) were introduced. The most important teaching technique used here was interlinear glossing. A characteristic feature of schoolbooks is the inclusion of synonyms for the simplest imaginable Latin words. In a manuscript dating from the very end of the Duecento and containing Physiologus and Aesop (BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.931), connected graphically with Florence, a glossator contemporaneous with the copyist wrote 'vero' glossed by (hereafter =) 'pro sed' (fol. 1^v), 'artus' = 'pro membra' (fol. 2^r) and 'sin' = 'pro set si' (fol. 2^v). Similar is BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.1088, an anthology dated 1469, possibly coming from a Florentine humanist school and containing Statius's Achilleis, Ilias latina, Henry of Settimello's Elegy, and Maximianus, besides pedagogic poetry by two humanist teachers, Guarino Veronese and Giannantonio Porcello, which has the following interlinear glosses on the first folio: 'facta' = 'acta', 'prisca' = 'antiqua', 'longe' = 'valde', 'populatus' = 'depredatus', 'ponto' = 'mari', 'timuit' = 'expavit', and 'ponto' = 'aqua'. A further example is Cosimo de' Medici's text of Ovid's Heroides (BML, MS 36.28), read under the tuition of Maestro Niccolò di Ser Duccio d'Arezzo, teaching in Florence during the academic year 1401–02,4 when Cosimo was twelve or thirteen years old. Cosimo's glosses are not difficult to pick out, writing as he did with a distinctively dark ink. His interlinear annotations are typical simple lexical equivalents, for example: 'Lacedemona' = 'Grecia', 'deserto' = 'relicto', 'querenti' = 'petenti', 'spatiosam' = 'longam', and 'leto' = 'morte'.

Word order has always been a problem for learners of Latin as a second language. The most important technique used to overcome this difficulty for inexpert readers was the use of marks (usually letters of the alphabet), placed between lines to indicate the logical sequence of words according to the pattern of the vernacular. The copyist of a Sallust (BML, MS Ashburnham 20) dating from the mid-thirteenth century was responsible for numerous word-order marks; his glossing of 'mare nostrum' as 'pisani maris' (fol. 24^r) and 'nostro mari' as 'pisano' (fol. 24^v) suggests a link with Pisa. In a Florentine school manuscript of Aesop

⁴ Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, pp. 386, 538.

and *Physiologus* datable to the very end of the thirteenth century (BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.931), a contemporaneous glossator wrote (fol. 3^r):

A school-level *Aeneid*, datable to the end of the thirteenth century and probably of Pisan origin (BML, MS 39.5), has word-order marks written by a hand contemporary with the copyist's (fols 5°, 8°, 14°, and 18°). Another school manuscript associated with Florence and containing word-order marks is an *Ilias latina* that was probably copied under commission from the Florentine Macingo di Gioachino Macinghi in 1428 (BML, MS 38.12). BML, MS Ashburnham 892, Boethius's *Consolation* datable to the first half of the fourteenth century, was used by a pupil called Giovanni di Puccino di Ser Andrea in Ser Santi di Domenico d'Arezzo's school in Orsanmichele:

This Boethius belongs to me, Giovanni di Puccino di Ser Andrea, attending the school of Maestro Ser Santi from [...] grammar teacher in a road called Orsanmichele.⁵

Ser Santi di Domenico rented a school in Orsanmichele from 1418 to 1424 and from 1426 to 1427; word-order marks occur throughout this manuscript (fols 4^v, 14^v, 18^r, 19^r, 22^r, 25^r, 26^r–27^v, 28^v, 31^{r–v}, 32^v–33^v, 35^r, 36^{r–v}, 37^r, 38^v, 41^v, and 43^r).

Although less common than synonyms or word-order marks, there were also interlinear annotations focusing on grammatical analysis. A common school practice, for example, was to indicate the vocative case with an 'o' over nouns, as in a Florentine manuscript of the *Achilleis* dated 1469 (BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.1088: fol. 1^r: 'Diva' = 'o Caliope', 'Phebe' = 'o'). Figures of speech were just as much a part of grammatical study in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance as they were of rhetoric. These figures (often confusingly labelled rhetorical figures or colours) in fact showed permitted lapses of strict grammatical usage: hence they constituted the subject matter of the third part of Donatus's

⁵ 'Iste Boetius est mei Giovanni Puccini Ser Andree morantis in ischolis magistri Ser Santi de [...] doctoris gramatice in una via que vocatur Orto Sancti Michelis. Amen' (BML, MS Ashburnham 892, fol. 48').

⁶ Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, pp. 404-07.

Ars major (sometimes aptly named Barbarismus to suggest the breaking of rigorous grammatical rules). An understanding of figures was essential to a basic comprehension of texts, since the reader had to learn to make allowances for what amounted to poetic licence on the part of the author. A version of Virgil's Eclogues (BML, MS 91 sup. 49), written in the first half of the fifteenth century, apparently came into the possession of a minor figure from the humanist world of Cosimian and Laurentian Florence. Bastiano Foresi was a notary who entered the Florentine chancery under Carlo Marsuppini and then served as principal assistant to Benedetto Accolti, later dedicating neo-Petrarchan poetry to Lorenzo de' Medici as well as sharing musical interests with Ficino; after leaving the chancery following the death of Accolti in 1464, Foresi may have worked as a grammar teacher. It appears that he annotated Virgil with interlinear explanations of figures (fols 73^v: 'pecudes' = 'id est homines virtuosi'; 84^r: 'omnis mundus' = 'totus metonomia est'). Another form of grammatical explication was to realize poetic contractions, as in an extract from the Aeneid (x.163-180), copied into a chronicle of Pisa because it deals with the city's origins (BNCF, MS Palatino 669, fol. 2^r: 'quis' = 'quibus'). Understood subjects, verbs, antecedents, and modified nouns were written above the line (fol. 2^r: 'quique' = 'ille consultus', 'qui' = 'ille'), as in a Florentine Ovid and pseudo-Ovid (BNCF, MS VII.966) perhaps copied by the noted bibliophile, Filippo Pieruzzi, who, after his retirement from the Florentine chancery,8 became a grammar teacher at the Badia a Settimo near Florence.9 Simple grammatical structures were explained, as in the Florentine humanist school manuscript from 1469 (BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.1088, fol. 1^r: 'tu' = 'Domitiane', 'qua' = 'ea parte', 'vana' = 'sunt'); or in Foresi's Virgil (BML, MS 91 sup. 49, fols 3^r: 'Alx' = 'tertia declinatio'; 73^v: 'delitias' = 'appositive', 'quid' = 'pro aliquid', 'umbrosa' = 'appositive', 'miserere' = 'pro misereris', 'rapido' = 'appositive').

A particularly striking teaching technique used in grammar schools was interlinear glossing in the vernacular. Although often well advanced in Latin, pupils reading the authors in the grammar schoolroom still glossed their texts in the vernacular, as is evident from a number of manuscripts signed by pupils in schools. One example is Giovanni di Antonio di Iacopo da Gambassi in the Valdelsa,

⁷ Black, Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance, pp. 89–90, 100, 120, 139, 140n, 142n, 152, 153n, 156–57, 159, and 163–71.

⁸ Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance*, p. 133; Vespasiano de Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. by Greco, 11, 244–54.

⁹ Calzolai, *La storia della Badia a Settimo*, p. 123; Ullman and Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*, p. 26; Vespasiano de Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. by Greco, 11, 254, 269.

whose version in 1385 (BML, MS 91 sup. 30) of the 'expositio' (fol. 171^r) to Seneca's Tragedies by Maestro Antonio di Ser Salvo da San Gimignano, then teaching in his native city, 10 included vernacular equivalents of Latin vocabulary: fols 30°: 'schiere vel sotietates equitum'; 32°: 'attonita' = 'isbigottita'; 32°: 'mora' = 'indugio'. Other examples of signed schoolbooks with vernacular glosses are BML, MS 34.23 (Tuscany, mid-fourteenth century, Horace), fol. 1^r: 'cervicem' = 'uno collo, 'equinam' = 'di cavallo, 'undique' = 'd'ogni parte', 'collatis' = 'raguaglati', 'superne' = 'dalla parte di sopra', 'vane' = 'vanamente', 'cupressum' = 'l'arcipresso', 'enatat' = 'nuota'; BML, MS 34.20 (Florence, xiv^{4/4}, Horace), fol. 11^r: 'nachosta', 'le risposste', 'con Cesere'; BML, MS 38.8 (Siena, 1415/1416, Statius, Ovid, pseudo-Boethius): fol. 61^v: 'testa' = 'intessuta'; BRF, MS 725 (Florence, xv^{1/4}, minor authors): fol. 3^r: 'ismostrare', 'ricordevole'. Among signed schoolbooks from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the most extensive vernacular annotation comes from the school of Mattia Lupi of San Gimignano while teaching in Prato from 1403 to 1407.11 This copy of Claudian's De raptu Proserpinae, completed by his pupil Bartolomeo di Giovanni on 12 November 1403, gives many such glosses in Bartolomeo's hand in a mixture of Latin and Italian; Bartolomeo also gives simple philological marginal glosses only in the vernacular. 12

Glosses such as those made in Mattia Lupi's classroom suggest a popular, low level of teaching, and it seems that, in studying the authors, teachers tended to resort to Italian when they were trying to explicate less advanced material. Thus, one generally finds the most copious vernacular glossing in manuscripts of the *auctores minores*: BML, MS 91 sup. 38 (probably Pisa, xiv²): fols 9^r: 'data est' = 'si è data', 'ut' = 'aciò', 17^v: 'obstrusa' = 'itorniata'; BRF, MS 732 (xiv^{ex}, owned by members of the Florentine Vespucci family, including the future bibliophile and teacher Giorgio Antonio, ¹³ as well as in Pescia): fol. 2^v: 'negli schogli'; BML, MS 91 sup. 3 (Florence, *c.* 1388, owned in Pistoia and by Florentine Gaddi family): fols 1^r: 'orat' = 'pregia', 'nata' = 'figuola', 'heret' = 'agosta', 'contemptus' = 'spregiato'; 2^r: 'dimictere' = 'lasciate', 'amissos' = 'perducti'. There are also early examples: BML, MS Magliabechiano VII.1180 (probably Tuscan, xiii^{4/4}): fols 1^r: 'ingemit' = 'si duole', 'lira' = 'e'liuto'; 1^v: 'pluma' = 'piuma', 'assidue' = 'crudele', 'extinto' =

¹⁰ Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, p. 584.

¹¹ Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, p. 64.

 $^{^{12}}$ For the texts, see Black, 'The Vernacular and the Teaching of Latin', p. 711.

¹³ De la Mare, *The Handwriting of the Italian Humanists*, I, 107 and nn. 5–8; Ullman and Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*, p. 38; Verde, *Lo studio fiorentino*, III, 8–9, 26, 58–59, 108–11, 240, 385–86, 427, 480, 542, 568, 813, 852–53, and 944.

'amortuo', 'plorato' = 'pangerò'; BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VII.931 (probably Tuscan or even Florentine, xiiiex): fols 1': 'Hic macies maciei id est magrezza'; 2': 'tipicus' = 'figurato', 'fugabis' = 'lacerai', 'reprimit' = 'dicacia'. This method of annotating the minor authors continued to be practised widely in the fifteenth century (BRF, MS 350, Florence, Minerbetti family, xvin): fols 5'': 'gemina' = 'doppia', 33'': 'sus' = 'el porco', 'stolido' = 'paçço'; 34'': 'otia' = 'quieta', sometimes almost every word being given a *volgare* equivalent as in BRF, MS 350, fol. 30'':

El fiore e'l fructo si aquistano al favore risprende. Flos et fructus emunt<ur>, hic nitet, ille sapit;

El fructo, si piace a te più che'l fiore o tu ekogh', e'l fiore Si fructus plus flore placet fructum lege. Si flos [...]

On the whole, minor and major authors were not collected together in anthologies, a pattern reflecting the differing stages of the curriculum they represented. Nevertheless, occasionally both classes of authors were included in anthologies, and it seems that pupils and teachers sometimes carried on the same form of glossing, including interlinear vernacular vocabulary notes, across this division of Latin school literature: BML, MS Strozzi 119 (Tuscany, near Florence, xiv^{ex}, Horace, Prudentius): fols 1^r: 'a meçina', 1^v: 'purché', 3^r: 'iocosa', 5^r: 'pacifichi', 5^v: 'mescolato', 'nella polpora'; BRF, MS 418 (Florence, xv¹, Prudentius, Virgil, *Physiologus*), fol. 22^r: 'per logorare'.

Of the major authors, the poets were favoured in the study of grammar, but when studied at a more advanced stage in the curriculum, they received less vernacular glossing than the minor authors. An example is BML, MS 91 sup. 4 (Florence, xvⁱⁿ, compiled by Paolo di Morello di Paolo Morelli, born 22 February 1393, minor authors and Claudian), where the minor authors are more heavily glossed in the vernacular than *De raptu Proserpinae*: fols 3^v: 'aspiret' = 'favoreggi,' 'solerti' = 'usato'; 7^r: 'scapulas' = 'spalle', 'strattus' = 'abattuto', 'immixtus' = 'mesticate', 'prosternit' = 'abatte', 'phalanges' = 'le brigate'; 23^v: 'macie' = 'per magrezza'; 25^v: 'monstrum' = 'cosa maravilgliosa'; 26^r: 'callidus' = 'malitioso'; 35^r: 'labenti' = 'trascorsa'; 37^v: 'clam' = 'nascose', 'scissim' = 'spartitamente'; 94^v: 'situ' = 'la stança'; 98^r: 'ebur' = 'l'avorio'; 98^v: 'texti' = 'del texuto'; 99^r: 'liram' = 'liuto'; 100^r: 'plectra' = 'liuto': 104^r: 'totam' = 'l'antrata'.

Nevertheless, some examples of vernacular annotations to the major poets can be found: BNCF, MS Landau Finaly 54 (Florence or Tuscany, xiii/xiv, Horace), fol. 1^r: 'plerumque' = 'spesse volte', 'purpureus' = 'di porpora', 'insieme seco sta', 'lo bosco', 'ara Diane' = 'l'autare di Diana', 'cur urceus exit' = 'perché lo vagello n'esce'; BML, MS 24 sin. 5 (Florence, xiv^{ex}, Seneca), fols 2^r: 'flexit' = 'piegò'; 10^v: 'pandit'

= 'manifesta'; 11^v: 'plebeia' = 'popolaçço'; 12^v: 'clepit' = 'difende'; 23^r: 'posteritas' = 'antichità'; BML MS 39.14 (Florence, xiv/xv, Virgil), fol. 3^r: 'precetta'; 4^v: 'esca', 'della biada'; 14^v: 'così à parlato'; 44^r: 'schiatta'; BML, MS Strozzi 112 (Tuscany, composite x-xy, Virgil), fol. 97^r: 'tonsae' = 'fronzute'; BML, MS 39.5 (probably Pisa, xiiiex, Virgil): fol. 33r: 'schogli'; BML, MS Rinuccini 15 (probably Tuscany, xv¹, Virgil): fols 19^v: 'à superato', 'un fiume'; 26^r: 'razza'; 29^v: 'prestamente passiamo'; BML, MS 36.6 (Arezzo/Casentino, Ovid, xvin): fols 7r: 'Dicens sic: Ella mi perdonarà bene, ma io non gittarò l'ossa de mia madre etcet'; 58^r: 'hic oppidarius. el castellano'; 58°: 'da l'orscello, dal capeçale'. The oldest set of glosses in the volgare to a school major poet in the Florentine collections seems to be a twelfth-century Lucan (BML, MS 35.13), which has an extensive series of Duecento vernacular glosses. This manuscript had some rudimentary school use during the thirteenth century, possibly in Tuscany, when several immature hands provided vernacular interlinear glossing (besides word-order marks): fols 48°: 'veritus' = 'temuto', word-order marks; 53^v: 'conceptos' = 'adunati'; 54^r: 'ianitor' = 'portararo'; 55^r: 'inmunem' = 'senza dono'; 55^v: 'possessor' = 'posseditore', 'rogum' = 'fuoco', 'strue' = 'ordinamento'; 56^r: 'decepit' = 'gannao', 'effigiem' = 'figura', 'diurna' = 'contemporale', 'funestas' = 'mortale'; 57': word-order marks, 'simillima' = 'molto semiliata', 'erigitur' = 'erizata', 'habenas' = 'le retine', 'prodere' = 'manefestare'; 58^r: 'defunctos' = 'muorti'; 71^v: word-order marks, 'tutele' = 'securanza'.

Before the fourteenth century, the principal classical prose writer for grammar pupils was Sallust. One important school manuscript of Sallust dates from the first half of or the mid-thirteenth century (BML, MS Ashburnham 20). The copyist's crude writing is redolent of a vernacular, lay ambience, suggesting possibly a secular grammar pupil in the earlier thirteenth century. Accordingly, there is a great deal of vernacular vocabulary glossing: fols 21^r: 'ut' = 'siché', 23^r: 'scelestos' = 'scominicati', 'facciosios' = 'discordiosi'; 23^v: 'factiones' = 'per discordie'; 27^v: 'casum' = 'avengemento'; 28^r: 'conscientia delicti' = 'per la consacensa de peccato', 'lege' = 'la lege'; 29^v: 'socordia' = 'pigricia'; 32^r: 'descordie'; 33^v: 'usança'; 34^r: 'dissensio' = 'departimento'; 35^r: 'sollicitudinis' = 'rancure', 'probra' = 'decorosa'; 35^v: 'villanesco', 'intemeroso'; 36^v: 'in alteça vel in alto'; 39^r: 'obsides' = 'ostadici'; 41^v: 'cavallaresca battaia'.

Great efforts were made in the Italian Trecento Latin classroom to reach out to the growing numbers of literate pupils; teachers were no longer willing just to make Latin available but now strove to bring it down to the level of the children themselves. The most important way in which these masters popularized Latin was to use the vernacular as a learning aid, introducing it into the teaching of grammar and prose composition. One area of Latin teaching in which the vernacular made substantial headway in the fourteenth century was lexicography. There was an

increasing amount of vernacular vocabulary glossing of Latin authors between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, and so one finds correspondingly a number of Latin/vernacular word lists compiled by grammar teachers in this period. Several such vocabularies derived from the lessons of the early Trecento teacher, Maestro Goro d'Arezzo: BNCF, MS Panciatichi 68, fols 1^r–13^v; BL, MS Harley 6513; BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VIII.1412, fols 29^v–35^r; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS alpha.V.9.1. The colophon of the Harley manuscript suggests that Goro may have used this list while teaching in Siena. ¹⁴ Unlike the earlier great Latin dictionaries, which follow alphabetical order, Goro's Harley list is organized according to vocabulary classes, beginning with God and heaven, and descending to man, eating and food, the house, and so forth. By departing from the alphabetic reference format of Papias's *Elementarium*, Uguccione of Pisa's *Magnae derivationes*, and Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon*, it is clear that Goro's purpose was primarily to help his pupils learn words by focusing on related vocabulary.

This same type of organization was adopted by Goro's pupil, Maestro Domenico di Bandino (c. 1335–1418), in a vocabulary list which he gave to one of his Florentine pupils in the late fourteenth century under the title 'Incipiunt vocabula data a Magistro Dominicho de Aretio' ('The beginning of the vocabulary given by Maestro Domenico d'Arezzo'; ASF, MS Ospedale di San Matteo 56). Domenico di Bandino's vocabulary is divided into sections according to subject matter like his teacher Goro's, but it begins with man instead of God and proceeds to parts of the body; the house, including domestic items, furniture, and food; the garden and plants; woods and trees; and finally the farm. A typical example of this list is the section on the parts of the body (fols 20^r-22^r [nn]). Words are not differentiated according to parts of speech; instead, nouns are mixed indiscriminately with verbs and adjectives. The majority of entries, as would be expected, are nouns. Another feature of the list are excursuses in the form of verses to clarify and to fix differences of meaning for the pupil, particularly in the case of homonyms; it is likely that these verses were mnemonic, as in the case of similar verse extracts found in elementary and secondary grammar texts, which are introduced, as here, with the formula 'unde versus'. On one occasion, the source of the verse digression is given as Evrard of Béthune's Graecismus. In school grammatical treatises, these mnemonic verses were usually anonymous

¹⁴ BL, MS Harley 6513, fol. 4°: 'Hic incipiunt vocabula Magistri Gori de Aretio quibus ego Iohannes Bini Benedicti de Sancto Angelo in Colle multa vocabula adiunxi accepta a Iacobo Paltonio iuvene doctissimo senensi' ('Here begins the vocabulary of Maestro Goro d'Arezzo, to which I Giovanni di Bino di Benedetto da S. Angelo in Colle have added many words received from Iacopo Paltoni, a learned Sienese youth').

too, although when sources are cited, they were usually, as here, *Graecismus*, or sometimes Alexander of Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*. The list seems to reflect the Florentine idiom of the pupil, Bartolo di Messer Bello Mancini, ¹⁵ whose orthography often did not reproduce his teacher's probably more Latinate vernacular and whose Latin was often ungrammatical.

The topical Latin/vernacular lexicon, established by Goro d'Arezzo in the early fourteenth century, became a standard teaching tool in the fifteenth century. Indeed, the same bundle of Florentine hospital accounts among which Domenico di Bandino's word list was found contains another Latin/vernacular vocabulary, this time by the early fifteenth-century Aretine grammar teacher Maestro Niccolò di Duccio. This latter list, which seems to have been written about the same time as Bartolo Mancini's vocabulary but by a far more expert hand, has this note of possession: 'This vocabulary belongs to me, Ser < Michele> di Giovanni di Biagio da Montecastello, attending the school of the venerable Maestro Niccolò d'Arezzo' ('Ista vochabula sunt mea Ser < Michaelis?> Iohannis Blaxii de Monte Chastello morantis in ischolis venerabilis Magistri Nicholai de Aretio'), although this pupil did not write the list. Maestro Niccolò di Duccio's list is also topically organized, and there is clearly some kind of textual relationship between his and Domenico di Bandino's vocabulary, as many of the entries and mnemonic verses are the same, although Niccolò di Duccio's list is longer, containing a number of additional topics. The topical Latin/vernacular vocabulary became a well-established feature of Florentine grammar schools in the fifteenth century: other examples are from a ricordanza of 1419 to 1421 by Domenico di Bono Ferravecchio, detto Valdisieve, da Firenze, containing 'Vocabulary provided for us by Maestro Antonio' ('Vocabula nobis tributa a Magistro Antonio') — probably Maestro Antonio di Andreuccio da Castelnuovo della Lunigiana, who taught grammar in Florence from 1420 to 1425¹⁶ (ASF, Manoscritti 83,

¹⁵ Bartolo (or Bartolomeo) was the son of an important Florentine political figure of late Trecento, Messer Bello di Niccolò Mancini, knighted by the Ciompi in 1378; his mother, Niccolosa di Messer Giovannino Magalotti, was from a Florentine elite family (see BNCF, Carte Passerini 233, 'Genealogia e storia della famiglia Mancini'). The manuscript (ASF, MS Ospedale di San Matteo 56) probably dates from the 1380s, when Domenico di Bandino was teaching grammar in Florence. Domenico di Bandino taught in Florence betwen 1381 and 1399 and not again: see Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, p. 537; and Hankey, 'Domenico di Bandino'. It is less likely to derive from 1390s, because Messer Bello is not specified as dead in the colophon; it had to come before 1 July 1399, when Domenico di Bandino returned to teach grammar in his native city of Arezzo, never again to live in Florence. See Black, *Studio e scuola in Arezzo*, p. 372.

¹⁶ Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, pp. 387–88, 538.

fol. 12^r); this list contains mnemonic verses, like Domenico di Bandino's and Niccolò's vocabularies.

It was at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Italian schoolmasters first used the vernacular to impart Latin vocabulary, that they also began to turn to the *volgare* for teaching secondary grammar. An early example is provided by the Regule parve of Goro d'Arezzo (BNCF, MS Panciatichi 68, fols 13^v-20^r). 17 Goro's Regule are fragmentary, but they still show two didactic uses of the vernacular. One is the listing of Latin verbs and their principal parts together with vernacular translations to illustrate the various categories of verbal construction. These Latin/vernacular verb lists — clearly included to build vocabulary as well as to illustrate the different verbal constructions — became a characteristic feature of secondary level grammars in the Renaissance, including those by Guarino and Niccolò Perotti, but Goro's other use of the vernacular was peculiar to the Regule parve. This was teaching the meanings of the cases through the vernacular prepositions. Thus the genitive was explained by the vernacular 'de' ('di'), the dative by 'a', and the ablative by 'de' ('di'), 'da', 'in', 'per', and 'cum'. Goro's rules of thumb for the Latin cases by reference to the appropriate vernacular prepositions were eminently pragmatic and obviously reflected his own teaching practice, but perhaps the numerous exceptions and qualifications — some of which he himself detailed — made this method less attractive to his fellow grammar teachers.

Nevertheless, Goro shared his use of the vernacular in the Latin classroom with a number of other early fourteenth-century grammarians, whose secondary treatises also include Latin/vernacular lists of verbs illustrating the classes of verbal constructions. One example is the widely diffused treatise on construction by the Florentine grammarian, Filippo di Naddo (d. 1340). Another is offered by the 'Regule mediocres Magistri Guillielmi de Verruscola Bosorum', preserved

¹⁷ Marchesi, 'Due grammatici latini del medio evo', pp. 45–56.

¹⁸ Found in: ASF, Carte Bardi II.179, xv², not earlier than 1463, when a previous text in the manuscript was completed (fol. 135°), fols 140°–178°; BML, MS Ashburnham 243, xv², fols 1°–46°; BML, MS Gaddi 203, xiv², fols 1°–59°; BNCF, Conventi Soppressi MS G.VIII.1438, xv, a grammatical miscellany, including pages (pp. 157, 202) with same incipit as Filippo's *Regule*, and possibly material from his treatise on pp. 156–222, but without the full text; BRF, MS 418, xv¹, fols 42°–73°, an incomplete version of *Regule Magistri Philippi*, corresponding to fols 81°–108° of BRF, MS 630; BRF, MS 630, xv¹, fols 81°–112°; BRF, MS 2795, xiv–xv, fols 134°–141°, beginning of Filippo di Naddo's *Regule* (corresponding to fols 1°–13° of BML, MS Ashburnham 243); New York, Columbia Univ. Libr., MS Plimpton 149, xv^{mid}, apparently complete; Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, MS Lat. XIII.48, xiv, fols 27°–76°; Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, MS Lat. XIII.48, xiv, fols 27°–76°; Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, MS Lat. XIII.29, xv, fols 1°–37°. On Filippo di Naddo da Firenze, see Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 126–27, 139, 143, 160–61, 196, and 214–15.

in a manuscript (BNCF, MS Nuove accessioni 398) with a Florentine watermark dating 1341 (which accords well with the *scrittura cancelleresca* used by the copyist). This teacher, who taught grammar in Lucca from 1334 to 1348, was from the noble Bosi family, who, as lords of Fivizzano (in the neighbourhood of Lucca), held the castle of Verrucola nearby. This manuscript was used by a number of Florentine pupils, including Simone Rondinelli and Matteo di Simone Strozzi (fol. 73°), and also found its way into the classroom of two well-known teachers, Maestro Niccolò d'Arezzo and Maestro Goro, probably Goro d'Arezzo.

The Pisan teacher Francesco di Bartolo da Buti used a similar technique in his famous *Regulae grammaticales* for teaching irregular Latin nouns.¹⁹ He divided these into groups according to their type of irregularity, which he first discussed in general terms and then exemplified by a list of nouns with vernacular equivalents. He then proceeded to give twenty-one lists of this type for other irregular nouns, and he adopted the same kind of presentation for irregular verbs, first discussing the irregularity and then giving a series of nine lists with vernacular equivalents.

Fourteenth-century Italian grammarians went further, illustrating various syntactical points by reference to vernacular sentences which were then provided with Latin translations. This reflects the schoolroom practice of *themata*, which were vernacular passages assigned to pupils for Latin translation. This type of exercise was established by the early fourteenth century and is explicitly mentioned by Filippo di Naddo and Guglielmo da Verrucola. Indeed, many of the grammatical points in their treatises were specifically raised in order to solve problems of translation from vernacular to Latin and were accordingly introduced by the phrase 'si detur thema'.

The use of *themata* to teach Latin syntax can be illustrated again in Francesco da Buti's *Regule grammaticales*. The concept of the theme is first introduced without vernacular phrases at the first level of his school (*latinum minus*) when he discusses potential problems for translation raised by common verbs (that is, those with both active and passive meanings). He introduces actual phrases to translate under deponent verbs, the next verbal category of *latinum minus*, giving four modes for thematic translation of deponent verbs. He mentions more potential problems of translation in the rest of his treatment of verbal syntax, for example when discussing neutral passives (that is, verbs with active forms but passive meanings) or impersonal verbs. One such problem comes when explaining how to translate the past tense of certain verbs lacking a preterite. But the most

¹⁹ On the manuscripts of Francesco's grammar, now see Franceschini, 'Le "Regule" di Francesco da Buti tra scuola laica e Osservanza'.

intensive use of the vernacular in treating problems of Latin composition comes at Francesco's second level (*latinum mediocre*). Here he introduces themes for the translation of nouns lacking Latin plurals or for other problematic vernacular nouns. At this level, themes are brought into the discussion of superlatives, as well as numerals, verbal nouns, and verbs, but thematic translation is a particular preoccupation for comparatives and participles.

A contemporaneous Florentine example has emerged from the school of Domenico di Bandino. It will be recalled that this book, ASF, MS Ospedale di San Matteo 56, bears a note of possession from the Florentine schoolboy, Bartolo di Messer Bello Mancini, attending the school of Maestro Domenico d'Arezzo. The translation exercises chosen for Bartolo Mancini all focus on particular grammatical features of the standard secondary syllabus. For example, the first exercise focuses on the two types of supines (fol. 2^r [nn]); the second concentrates on constructions with gerunds and gerundives as well as a revision of supines (fol. $2^{v}[nn]$). All the topics used by Domenico di Bandino for theme translations focus on problems treated theoretically in contemporary secondary grammar manuals, such as Francesco da Buti's Regule, already discussed. Similarly, the translation exercises carried out by Bartolo Mancini under his other teacher, one Maestro Giovanni, preserved in the same manuscript, also focus on one particular problem of theme translation. In this latter case, the task was translating the vernacular verb 'capere', which required rendering into Latin through the adjective 'capax', and Bartolo was given twenty-two exercises of varying difficulty on this one point (fols 6^r-11^v [nn]). Bartolo's instruction under these teachers was far from slapdash: not only was he required to carry out interminable repetition, as seen above under Maestro Giovanni, but he even had to translate Maestro Domenico's lesson plan at the beginning of the course on supines, gerunds, and infinitives (fol. 2^r [nn]).

An insight into the manner and order in which the various techniques of the grammar syllabus were integrated in early fifteenth-century Florence is offered by a schoolbook now preserved as BNCF, MS Landau Finaly 202. This paper codex, the work of a group of Florentine schoolboys, contains four texts — Statius's *Achilleis* (fols 1^r–15^r), *Chartula* (fols 16^r–24^r), *Disticha Catonis* (fols 24^v–31^v), and the opening two books of Alexander of Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* (fols 32^v–47^v) — followed by a series of grammatical exercises (fols 48^r–118^r, 138^r–44^r). The first thirteen folios were written by a young member of the Florentine elite, Antoniotto di Giovanni di Paolo Morelli (hand A), who left his note of possession on the inside back cover (fol. I): 'Iste liber est mei Antoniotti Iohannis Pauli de Morellis.' An unidentified hand (B) finished the text of *Achilleis* (fols 14–15), and then another Florentine youth, Francesco di Francesco Ferantini (C), took over the copying of *Chartula, Disticha Catonis* and

the first 303 lines of *Doctrinale* (Il. 29–331: up to fol. 44^r , l. 3), leaving two colophons (fols 23^r , 31^r). Thereafter (B) completed the rest of Book II of *Doctrinale* (fols 44^r , ll. 4 to 47^v), and the remainder of the codex was almost entirely copied by a second unidentified hand (D). The manuscript carries throughout a series of dates progressing from 1413 to 1416, usually placed in the upper margin of each page; these were written by (D), who acted as the overall organizer of the book, sometimes renumbering previous paginations or indicating catchwords even in the parts not written by him (fols 15^v , 31^v , 47^v).

Hand (A) of the manuscript is identifiable with Antoniotto Morelli, the second son of the famous diarist, Giovanni di Paolo Morelli. Antoniotto was born on 24 December 1398, which would make him fifteen at the time that he copied Statius's Achilleis, dated 1413 in BNCF, MS Landau Finaly 202. 20 Hand (C) is to be identified with Francesco di Francesco Ferantini, the youngest member of a household of four brothers; he was twenty-seven in 1427, 21 making him thirteen in 1413, when he copied Chartula, Disticha Catonis, and Doctrinale in BNCF, MS Landau Finaly 202. Their grammar teacher at the time was called Ser Santi, as revealed by a colophon preserved within the manuscript.²² This teacher was Ser Santi del fu Domenico d'Arezzo (d. 1427), who ran a grammar school in Florence in the first decades of the fifteenth century.²³ He is also the teacher mentioned as having a school in Orsanmichele in a Florentine manuscript of Boethius's Consolation (BML, MS Ashburnham 892; discussed above p. 248), a text that in fact plays a prominent part in the curriculum evident in BNCF, MS Landau Finaly 202. It is clear that the manuscript represents a collaborative effort of various school pupils, working contemporaneously.

The material covered in 1413 was entirely literary and consisted of a mixture of major and minor authors, resembling the selection often found in school anthologies, where Statius's *Achilleis* was frequently combined with texts of the

²⁰ BNCF, Carte Passerini 158bis, fols 13^v–14^r, where it is noted that he died on 15 July 1421. In 1427 Catasto (tax) (ASF, Catasto 34, fols 656^r–59^v, *portata* of Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli), Antoniotto is not mentioned in Giovanni Morelli's list of *bocche* (family members, literally 'mouths') (fol. 659^r) and is therefore confirmed as dead.

²¹ ASF, Catasto 59, fol. 107°. The Ferantini were a moderately prosperous middle-ranking Florentine family, with a total *valsente* (capital) in 1427 Catasto of 3930 florins, just less than half of Giovanni di Paolo Morelli's (8557 florins).

²² BNCF, MS Landau Finaly 202, fol. 104^v: '[...] fuit magisster noster qui vochabatur Ser Santes, magisster valde inteligens i<n> filosofia in loicha et in gramaticha etc' (Our teacher was called Ser Santi, a master very learned in philosophy, logic, and grammar).

²³ Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 388–89, 404–07, 419–20, 422–23, 448, 488, 494–96, and 538; and Black, *Studio e scuola in Arezzo*, p. 415.

auctores minores. In reading Statius, Antoniotto Morelli made the usual simple interlinear paraphrases and explication, with the same type of material found in his rare brief marginalia. Francesco Ferantini made no annotations in his text of *Chartula*, but he glossed *Disticha Catonis* with occasional simple interlinear paraphrases and explications; to this latter text he also provided a few marginalia, which consisted not only of this same kind of philological material but of simple grammar as well; he also cited Seneca, Virgil, Boethius's *Consolation*, Ovid, and proverbs attributed to Solomon.

If the schoolwork of 1413 in Ser Santi's school consisted entirely of reading relatively simple traditional school texts from both the minor and major authors, the next year the work became more varied. The first task was reading the first two books of Doctrinale, which were devoted to the formation of the five nominal declensions, patronymics, Greek and Hebrew nouns, pronouns, and heteroclyte and other irregular nouns. Here Francesco Ferantini provided a usual type of glossing for *Doctrinale* in the form of interlinear explications (fols 32^r, l. 29: 'rettis' = 'nominativis', 'quartus' = 'accusativus'), examples (32^r, l. 29: 'ut Andreas', 'ut Anchises, 'ut musa'), rare appearances of the vernacular (34': 'consul', 'el consolo') and occasional brief explicatory marginalia. But the type of work changed when hand (D) took over the copying. Now there began a number of thematic translations, similar to those already highlighted in Bartolo Mancini's exercise book from the school of Domenico di Bandino in Florence some thirty years earlier. These constituted a series of vernacular passages, each followed by a literal Latin translation; every one was numbered in the left margin, the remaining work for 1414 consisting of sixty-one such themes to translate (fols 48^r–57^v). These translations were also grouped according to topics, indicated as centred titles preceding the passages. The topics for 1414 focused almost entirely on verbs, and roughly corresponded to the earlier verbal topics of the secondary grammar syllabus as found, for example, in Francesco da Buti's Regule, beginning at the end of the sections on verbs classified according to syntactical patterns (neuter, common, etc.) and moving on to impersonal verbs, infinitives, participles, and derivative verbs.

In 1415 the work continued with further thematic translations of derivative verbs (inchoative, meditative, frequentative, desiderative), but then the focus shifted, as in secondary grammars, to types of nouns (verbals and relatives — indefinite adjectives were considered to be nouns and classified as relatives; fols $58^{\rm r}-67^{\rm r}$). The formal succession of numbered passages to translate was soon interrupted, however, by an intervening miscellaneous section (fols $67^{\rm v}-96^{\rm v}$). This consisted of grammatical definitions and other theoretical material, interspersed with short thematic translations (not numbered or in topical order) and Latin/vernacular vocabulary lists, organized in topics like those by Goro d'Arezzo

and Domenico di Bandino already encountered above. This material seems possibly to have offered revision of subjects already covered earlier in the curriculum, as well as looking forward. There then follows an entirely new section, consisting of several short fictitious vernacular letters and corresponding Latin translations (fols 89^r–91^v). Up to this point the work for 1415 in Ser Santi's school seems to have been entirely theoretical, but some idea of the year's reading matter is provided by the next item: vocabulary taken from Boethius's Consolation, entitled 'Ista sunt sunt vochabula scritta a Boetio etc.' and consisting of a running list of Latin words with vernacular translations for all of Book I (fols 92^r–96^v). When this list ends, the numbered translations begin again, going from 102 to 131. The topics now consist of types of nouns (numerals, weights, quantities, possessives, gentiles and patrials, patronymics), again corresponding roughly to the later stages of the formal secondary grammar curriculum found in Francesco da Buti and others. At this point it seems, as suggested by the colophon mentioned above, that Ser Santi stopped teaching this group of boys. With Ser Santi's departure, the numbered thematic translations ceased, but the year was completed with another miscellaneous mixture of brief thematic translations, Latin/vernacular vocabulary, and grammar notes (fols 105^r–109^v). The next year, 1416, continued with the same type of miscellaneous material (fols 110^r–118^r), concluding with a section on homonyms, in the form of a Latin vocabulary list with vernacular equivalents, organized by grouping together identically or similarly spelled words but with different meanings (fols 138^r-144^r). These Differentiae correspond to the works by pseudo-Cicero and Guarino; they normally seem to have come near the end of the theoretical secondary curriculum, as is suggested by the late placing of Guarino's Carmina differentialia in a series of Florentine grammar treatises associated with Giorgio Antonio Vespucci dating from c. 1465.²⁴

Thus it seems that in this Florentine grammar school, literary reading (in the form of minor and initial major authors, as well as Boethius's *Consolation*) was interspersed with formal grammatical study (not only in the guise of *Doctrinale* but also in the form of a textbook that probably provided the theoretical context for the progressive series of themes); accompanying all this, especially after the reading of the minor authors, was a growing concentration on translation from vernacular into Latin. Apart perhaps from exiguous references to a few classical authors in Francesco Ferantini's glossing of *Disticha Catonis*, there is no sign of avant-garde humanist methods in Santi di Domenico's school, but the same is not true of his Aretine colleagues. The pre-eminent Aretine grammar teacher of the early fourteenth century, Goro d'Arezzo (active in Arezzo during the 1340s),

²⁴ Black, *Humanism and Education*, pp. 144–45.

not only cited classical authors in his school-level Latin-vernacular word list but also wrote a long commentary on Lucan, 25 reflecting normal school-level, simple philological explication of texts. Goro straddled both approaches to Latin grammar teaching current in the fourteenth century: for him, the revived teaching of the classical authors stood side by side with the non-classical pragmatic approach as found in his Regule parve (see above). Goro's pupil, Domenico di Bandino d'Arezzo, like his teacher, wrote a Latin theoretical textbook for the use of his own pupils, 'ad rudium utilitatem'. This work, now found in a unique manuscript copy (Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, MS Lat. XIII.47), was entitled Rosarium (see fol. 3^r). In his preface, Domenico provides a glowing tribute to his own teacher in Arezzo, Maestro Goro, who, he suggests, had inspired him to write a textbook himself. Domenico assumed both aspects of Goro's legacy as a teacher. On the one hand, he wrote a modern-style practical textbook in which syntax played a prominent part and in which attention was devoted to thematic translation of sentences from vernacular to Latin (fols 114^r-120^v); on the other, he also made numerous direct citations of classical Latin authors (Ovid, Virgil, Terence, Juvenal, Lucan, Sallust).²⁶ Another Aretine grammar teacher, Niccolò di Ser Duccio (d. 1416), is also known to have taught classical authors in Castelfiorentino (Lucan)²⁷ and Florence (Ovid).²⁸ Yet more is known about the syllabus followed by an Aretine teacher of the next generation, the priest Ser Antonio di Simone di Niccolò Burletti, who, having taught grammar in Siena from 1424 to c. 1427, returned to his native city as public grammar master from 1428 to 1431.29 Antonio corresponded with the Sienese humanist Barnaba di Nanni di Barna, who lent him a copy of Cicero's De senectute, as well as with Ambrogio Traversari. Panormita (the Sicilian humanist Antonio Beccadelli) described Antonio as a 'nobilem grammaticum'; he lectured on Terence at the beginning of his Sienese residency.³⁰ So it is not entirely surprising that Antonio

²⁵ BNCF, MS Panciatichi 68 (Goro's *Vocabula* [fols 1^r-13^v] and his *Regule parve* [fols 13^v-20^r, on which see above]); BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VIII.1412, fols 29^v-35^r (another manuscript of his word list, with citations of classical authors on fols 30^r and 35^r); BL, MS Harley 2458 (his commentary on Lucan) and BL, MS Harley 6513 (another manuscript of his word list); Wien, Schottenkloster, MS 249, fols 1^r-112^v (another manuscript of his commentary on Lucan).

²⁶ Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, MS Lat. XIII.47, fols 5°, 15°, 27°, 29°, 32°, 44°, 46°, 49°, 50°, 56°, 57°, 62°, 72°, 84°, 106°.

²⁷ Black, Studio e scuola in Arezzo, p. 354.

²⁸ Black, *Humanism and Education*, pp. 210–11.

²⁹ Black, Studio e scuola in Arezzo, pp. 436-39.

³⁰ Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, p. 72; Barnaba Senese, Epistolario,

went further than most of his contemporaries in bringing a humanist approach to the classroom. The methods he adopted both in Siena and Arezzo are revealed by a secondary-level grammar treatise, entitled Nove regule de constructionibus, that he wrote in 1426, preserved in a single manuscript (BL, MS Additional 22762) and signed by a pupil with an indeterminate Tuscan name (Orlandi).³¹ In terms of theory, structure, and terminology, his treatise followed the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century non-classical pragmatic Italian approach: he used the usual nonclassical technical vocabulary derived from the Parisian grammarians and popularized in Italy during the thirteenth century by Alexander of Villa Dei, Evrard of Béthune, and Pietro da Isolella da Cremona ('a parte ante', 'regit', 'suppositum', 'prima species', 'secunda species', etc., 'appositum', 'a parte post', 'ex natura cause efficientis', etc.); the structure of the treatise resembled the layout of Francesco da Buti's grammar,³² the most influential secondary school-level treatise of the fourteenth century — itself entirely non-classical (Francesco does not cite one ancient Roman author). On the other hand, Antonio rejected many features of this medieval Italian structured and pragmatic approach, including mnemonic verses and vernacular thematic translation, both entirely absent from his treatise. Moreover, he cited a medieval grammarian only once, evidently to sneer at his excessive treatment:

Multi-faceted possessive construction, which Alexander [of Villa Dei] has sufficiently and abundantly discussed, would require lengthy explication here. Therefore I prefer to omit the topic, lest I seem to want to usurp everything for myself, leaving nothing for others.³³

Like his compatriot Domenico di Bandino, Antonio cited classical Latin authors too, but far more extravagantly: Virgil (152 quotations), Terence (34), Cicero (14), Lucan (12), pseudo-Cicero (8), Sallust (5), Horace, Juvenal, and Plautus (3 each), Suetonius and Ovid (2 each), and Livy and Persius (1 each). Moreover, Antonio may have taught Cicero's *De officiis* while in Siena and Arezzo.³⁴

ed. by Ferraù, pp. 8, 26-27, 55, 60-63, and 113.

³¹ BL, MS Additional 22762, fol. 85^r: 'Iste liber est mei Ieronimi de Orlandis' ('This book belongs to me Girolamo degli Orlandi').

³² Black, Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany, pp. 99-105.

³³ BL, MS Additional 22762, fol. 40^r: 'De constructione vero multifaria possessiva, de qua satis habunde Alesander disseruit, longum esset hic exponere. Itaque illam libentius pretereo, ne videar omnia usurpare velle, nihil aliis reliquens.'

³⁴ A prolusion to the text is found in the collection of letters (BNCF, MS II.IX.148) written while he was teaching in Siena and Arezzo; for the text; see Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, pp. 76–77.

Continuity and conservatism were the hallmarks of Italian teaching practice over the three centuries from c. 1200 to c. 1500. Techniques such as interlinear lexical synonyms, word-order signs, and invented mnemonic verses remained the constant staple of the Latin classroom. The greatest change was the introduction and gradual penetration of the vernacular as a tool to facilitate the teaching of Latin, but the volgare was never an end in itself during this period: there is absolutely no evidence that any form of the Italian language was taught in a formal manner, or that the aim of schools or teachers was to improve or correct their pupils' knowledge or use of the vernacular. Nevertheless, from small beginnings in the thirteenth century the *volgare* became omnipresent in the Latin schoolroom throughout Italy by the fifteenth century. This enormous development in the teaching of Latin antedated the arrival in the classroom of the Renaissance humanists. Compared to a change of such magnitude, the innovations of the greater and lesser humanist pedagogues must seem exiguous. In the earlier fifteenth century, an avant-garde teacher such as Antonio Burletti attempted to exclude traditional practices such as mnemonic verses, exercises in translation from the vernacular into Latin, and citation of medieval grammatical stand-bys such as Alexander's Doctrinale or Eyrard's Graecismus: moreover, he made numerous and frequent allusions to classical authors. But like his more famous contemporaries and successors, such as Guarino Veronese or Niccolò Perotti, Antonio's overall approach and theoretical framework remained thoroughly medieval: there was no revolution in the classroom effected by the fifteenth-century humanists.

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GEORGE OF TREBIZOND'S DE SUAVITATE DICENDI

Lucia Calboli Montefusco

hen in 1426, ten years after his arrival in Italy from Greece, George of Trebizond sent Girolamo Bragadin a long letter designed to teach him how to attain suavitas dicendi (sweetness of speech), he was dealing with one of the most effective and best-known rhetorical tools.1 Never, however, had this most important device been the object of a separate study. In question was the pleasure stirred up in the audience either by the content of the speech, or its style, or both. Aristotle, for example, mentioned in his Rhetoric the intellectual pleasure of listeners when they learn something easily and quickly (Rhetoric, 1410 b 10; 21), and he maintained that style is pleasant when it is the result of a good mixture of the conventional and the exotic, of rhythm and persuasiveness from propriety (Rhetoric, 1414 a 19-28). His disciple Theophrastus, for his part, considered sweetness within the doctrine of the virtues of speaking (virtutes elocutionis) as one of the two components of the distinguished style (ornatus; see also Cicero, Orator, 76), while Cicero pointed out its necessity in complementing the performance of the orator. In his rhetorical works, sweetness (suavitas) often appears coupled with brevity (brevitas; De inventione, II.6), dignity (gravitas; De inventione, II.49; Orator, 182), strength and fullness (vis and copia; De oratore, III.82), and fullness and variety (copia and varietas; De oratore, 111.121), but its function is most evident when, discussing the duties (officia) of the perfectus orator, Cicero links sweetness with the duty of pleasing (officium of delectare): 'The man of eloquence [...] will be one who is able to speak in court or in deliberative bodies so as to

¹ For a biography of George of Trebizond see Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*. For the letter to Hieronimus Bragadinus, *De suavitate dicendi*, see Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, no. LXVI, pp. 225–34.

prove, to please and to sway or persuade. To prove is the first necessity, to please is charm, to sway is victory.'2

In this regard, George of Trebizond had something new to offer his Italian friend: his knowledge of the Hermogenean discussion of 'sweetness' (γλυκύτης). Hermogenes had actually dealt twice with sweetness in his treatise Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγον: the first time briefly (pp. 219.1–220.4)³ when he was explaining by means of a paradigm how single types of style (ἰδέαι) can be created on the basis of the eight components of any speech: thoughts (ἔννοιαι), approach to the thought (μέθοδος), style (λέξις) — such as figures (σχήματα), clauses (κῶλα), word order (συνθέσεις), cadences (ἀναπαύσεις), and rhythm (ῥυθμός) (p. 218, ll. 18–23). He dealt with this matter a second time in greater detail (pp. 330, l. 1–339, l. 13) when he was concerned with sweetness within the exposition of the seven basic ἰδέαι which he sees interwoven in Demosthenes' style: clarity (σαφήνεια), grandeur (μέγεθος), beauty (κάλλος), rapidity (γοργότης), character (ήθος), sincerity (ἀλήθεια), and appropriateness (δεινότης), 4 together with their numerous subtypes. 5

Hermogenes, however, never said what the *iδέαι τοῦ λόγου* are,⁶ even if the opening words of his treatise refer to the necessity of the orator knowing them,

- ² Cicero, *Orator*, 69: 'Erit igitur eloquens [...] is qui in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. Probare necessitatis est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriae.' Translation from Cicero, *Orator*, trans. by Hubbell, pp. 356–57.
- ³ All references in this chapter to Hermogenes' Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου are to Hermogenes, *Opera*, ed. by Rabe, pp. 213–413 and are cited within brackets in the text.
- ⁴ It is almost impossible to render in translation the true meaning of the Hermogenean δεινότης: see Calboli Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences', p. 146, n. 26. I also dealt with this question at length in Calboli Montefusco, 'Les Catégories stylistiques du discours', pp. 175–81.
- ⁵ Hermogenes says that some of the *iδέαι* exist by themselves, while others consist of subordinate *iδέαι*; some, moreover, share the characteristics of one or more of their constitutive elements with others (pp. 217, l. 21–218, l. 10). Altogether, Hermogenes takes into account nineteen *iδέαι*. Within these, 'sweetness' does not exist as *iδέα* in its own right, but only as a subtype of 'character'. For a general overview of the *iδέαι* and their interrelationships, see the outlines in Hermogenes, 'On Types of Style', trans. by Wooten, p. xii; and Montefusco, 'Les Catégories stylistiques du discours', p. 171.
- ⁶ The Neoplatonic philosopher Syrianus, commenting on this treatise, did however offer an explanation: see Syrianus, *Commentaria*, ed. by Rabe, I, 2, ll. 16–19: 'ίδέα δέ ἐστι ποιότης λόγου τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀρμόδιος προσώποις τε καὶ πράγμασι κατά τε ἔννοιαν καὶ λέξιν καὶ τὴν ὅλην τῆς ἀρμονίας διαπλοκήν' (An idea is a quality of speech, harmonious with the person and subject involved, in terms of thought, diction and the whole interconnection of the harmony); trans. in Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, p. 111.

their characteristics, and how they are created, in order to be able to evaluate others and compose fine and noble speeches himself (p. 213, ll. 4–11). His intention was to underline how (because it is nearly impossible that the specific style of an author would depend upon the use of a single iδέα throughout a whole speech) each individual manner of speaking is the result of the predominance of the specific characteristics of one iδέα or another within a mixture of them (pp. 220, l. 23–221, l. 5). Hermogenes' main concern was not, however, to take into account all the varieties of individual manners of speaking, such as the 'Demosthenic' or the 'Platonic' (pp. 214, l. 22–215, l. 5). Rather he wanted to focus on the basic elements of the different iδέαι that, mixed together and according to the predominance of the most characteristic features of one of them, served to make up these particular styles (p. 222, l. 1–17). In other words, Hermogenes' aim was to offer those who wished to emulate a particular author a detailed analysis of the components of the different iδέαι, because only this knowledge would allow them to recognize and appreciate what constituted the individual style of an author.

When George sent his letter to Girolamo Bragadin to teach him the sources of sweetness (*De suavitate dicendi*, §2; 'suavitatis fontes'), he had already dealt with this topic briefly in a letter addressed to his own teacher Vittorino da Feltre, probably in $1420.^7$ Attempting in that letter to make available in Latin and in a very synthetic overview the content of Hermogenes' Π epì iðewv λ óyov, 8 he had faced for the first time the difficulty of finding a Latin name for the word $i\partial$ eat, a difficulty he solved using either formae or genera dicendi. 9 From that time on,

⁷ George of Trebizond, 'Letter to Victorinus Feltrensis, *De generibus dicendi*'.

⁸ George apologizes for this short overview, well aware that he has not adequately summarized such an important topic as drawn from Hermogenes; see George of Trebizond, 'Letter to Victorinus Feltrensis, *De generibus dicendi*', §37, p. 337: 'Terminum huic introductorio ad dicendum opusculo nunc imponemus si illud prius dixerimus: nos de hac excellentissima re non subtiliter dicere neque ab Hermogene tamquam ex fonte apte haec contrahere posse atque brevi contrahere esse confisos' ('We will now end this little work, which is meant to be an introduction to the composition of a speech, only after saying we were not confident that we are able to talk accurately about this so important topic nor, drawing it from Hermogenes as from a source, to abridge it adequately and in few words'). All translations from the writings of George of Trebizond in this chapter are mine.

⁹ George of Trebizond, 'Letter to Victorinus Feltrensis, *De generibus dicendi*', §3, p. 330: 'Formarum vero, sive dicendi generum nomina quedam Latine, quedam Grece ponam, aut utraque, prout mihi videbitur raptim celeriterque scribenti et non otium habenti neque satis quietum animum' ('Referring to these *formae* or *genera dicendi* I will use some Latin and some Greek names or both, depending upon what will seem good to me, who am writing speedily and hurriedly and am unable to have leisure or a sufficiently quiet spirit'). As to the word 'formae', George could have been influenced in his choice by Cicero, *Orator*, 10, where 'formae' is said to

he never deviated from this usage, and the terms *formae* and *genera dicendi* alternate freely in his works. It is interesting to note that despite John Monfasani's criticism, ¹⁰ Hermogenes himself often used ἀδιαφόρως, as his commentators complain, ¹¹ the word εἴδη instead of ἰδέαι. It is playing on this synonymy, on the other hand, that George could couple Hermogenean and Ciceronian influences. Indeed, combining the teaching of the two authors, freely picking up a little from here, a little from there, he not only offered his friends unique small monographs on a subject till then unknown in the Latin West, but also devoted a long discussion to the function of the *formae* within the precepts of *elocutio* in the last book of his *opus magnum*, the *Rhetoricorum libri v*. ¹²

In response to a request from Vittorino da Feltre to explain Hermogenes' doctrine of the *genera dicendi* (§1), George had first listed in Latin and Greek the seven *iðéau* that Hermogenes had mentioned as 'necessary to the orator', then, following Hermogenes' precepts, he mentioned their eight component elements:

Hermogenes thinks that the *formae dicendi*, which everybody considers as necessary to the orator, are seven: those which make the speech clear, grand, attractive, swift [...] appropriate to the characters (we can say so because he calls this *forma* 'ethos'), that which lets the speech appear true, and that which gives it the weight of *gravitas*. He calls them so: $\sigma \alpha \phi \dot{\eta} \nu \epsilon i \alpha \nu$, $\nu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \partial \sigma c$, $\nu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \lambda c$, $\nu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \dot{\epsilon} \lambda c$, $\nu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \lambda c$, $\nu \dot{\epsilon}$

be the Latin word for Plato's iδέαι. On the other hand, Doxopatres also refers to Plato's iδέαι to explain Hermogenes' use of the word: see Doxopatres' commentary to Hermogenes' Περὶ iδεῶν λόγου published in Prolegomenon Sylloge, ed. by Rabe, p. 424, ll. 10–12. For a Platonic origin of the word iδέαι, see also Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, p. 628; Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition, p. 104; and Lindberg, Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios, p. 14.

- ¹⁰ Referring to the incipit of the letter, Monfasani comments: 'the title itself is not very accurate'; see Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, p. 256.
- 11 Planudes, In Hermogenis 'Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου' Scholia, ed. by Walz, p. 442, ll. 14–16: 'οὐτος δὲ ἀδιαφόρως κέχρηται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ποτὲ μὲν είδη τὰς ἰδέας καλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ἰδέας τὰ είδη' (he made use of the names indifferently, sometimes calling είδη the ἰδέαι, sometimes ἰδέαι the είδη). In Syrianus, Commentaria, ed. by Rabe, I, 93, l. 18 and Planudes, In Hermogenis 'Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου' Scholia, ed. by Walz, 551, l. 7. this use of the words is said to be καταχρηστικῶς.
- ¹² George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, here pp. 493–616; this volume is a facsimile reproduction of a French edition (Paris, 1538), ed. by Christianus Wechelus (Chrétien Wechel).
 - ¹³ George of Trebizond, 'Letter to Victorinus Feltrensis, *De generibus dicendi*', §5: 'Dicendi

Only after these premises did he take into account, one after the other, the seven main *formae* and their subtypes. What is particularly significant, however, is the fact that here, after describing the characteristics of the individual *genera dicendi* and mentioning the need to mix them in performing a speech, he substituted Cicero for Demosthenes as the exemplary author to be imitated, because of Cicero's ability to combine better than anyone else all types of style.¹⁴

In the letter *De suavitate dicendi*, George mentions again the necessity of mixing different *dicendi genera* inside each speech:

Indeed, although the *genera dicendi* are many and varied and are set up by nature such that each one of them has its own goal and all together contribute to form each speech, so that something appears to be said *graviter*, something *acute*, something *vehementer*, something *suaviter*.¹⁵

However, he has decided to deal with sweetness in particular because, as he says to his friend, an audience listens with greater pleasure ('multo libentius') to a sweet mode ('suave genus') of speaking (*De suavitate dicendi*, §2). This was certainly not

formas, quas oratori necessarias esse omnes intelligunt, septem esse putat Hermogenes: que claram faciant orationem, que grandem [...] que pulchram, que celerem [...] que moratam (dicatur enim sic quoniam hanc formam 'ethos' appellat), que ut vera videatur oratio effecit, et que gravitatis ei pondus adiungit; easque ipse ita nominat ut eas dicat: σαφήνειαν, μέγεθος, κάλλος, γοργότητα, ήθος, ἀλήθειαν καὶ δειωότητα. Quarum singularum earumque partes, de quibus dicetur postea, octo quibusdam tanquam membris componuntur, sententiis, scilicet, artificio, quam methodum ille appellat, dictionibus, figuris, membris, compositionibus, numeris et clausulis.'

14 De suavitate dicendi, §34: 'Hec de generibus dicendi modo sufficiant. Illud tamen loco dictum erit, si quando (ut diximus) artificiose permixtis formis uti oportet, quomodo eas permisceat Cicero' ('What I said about the genera dicendi is now sufficient. Nevertheless, given, as I said, that it is necessary to use the formae according to a skilful mixture, we shall say here how Cicero mixes them'). In the preface of his treatise Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου (p. 215, ll. 19–24), Hermogenes had explicitly affirmed that he was not interested in discussing the specific style of the single authors, but the elements that constitute those styles. However, he said, given that Demosthenes, mixing these elements, was continuously diversifying his style, 'if we discuss him and what is found in his work, we shall in effect have discussed all the types of style' (Hermogenes, 'On Types of Style', trans. by Wooten, p. 2).

15 De suavitate dicendi, §2: 'Nam cum sint multa variaque dicendi genera atque omnia ita natura constituta ut et per se quidque speculetur et simul ad unamquamque concurrant orationem, ut hoc graviter, illud acute, vehementer aliud, aliud suaviter dictum videatur.' See also De suavitate dicendi, §7: 'dicendi genera omnia coniuncta illigataque esse strictissime [...] Orationem [...] nullam unquam invenies que aut hoc solum aut illo in genere versari videatur' ('the genera dicendi are all joined and linked together very tightly [...] You won't ever find any speech that appears to be concerned only with this or that genus'). Speaking of sweetness, therefore, implied dealing with other genera dicendi as well.

an inheritance from Hermogenes, because the latter did not attach any priority to sweetness. In this regard, George was, on the contrary, indebted to Cicero, who continuously stressed the emotional impact of *suavitas* (sweetness) on the audience. Nevertheless, before discussing the details of *suavitas*, George reminds Girolamo Bragadin once more that the *genera dicendi* are many, as he had already explained *satis diligenter* in writing to Vittorino da Feltre in another little work (*De suavitate dicendi*, §2: 'alio [...] libello'). If on that occasion Hermogenes was explicitly said to be the source of the precepts dealt with (*De generibus dicendi*, §1, §37), here Cicero's *De oratore* is the only authority referred to as witness for the existence of many and different *dicendi genera*: as George says, Cicero's interlocutors, Crassus and Antonius, made it clearer than the sun itself (*De suavitate dicendi*, §2: 'cum Ciceronianus ille Lucius Crassus et Marcus Antonius vel ipso sole ostendant clarius').

The reference is certainly appropriate, but not easily to be decoded. Cicero refers to this question several times in *De oratore*. Crassus, for example, had spoken at length of the enormous variety of *genera dicendi*: 'Do you not expect that we shall find almost as many styles of oratory as orators?'16 when mentioning the most evident characteristics of the oratory of single authors, such as sweetness (suavitas) for Isocrates, refined precision (subtilitas) for Lysias, pointedness (acumen) for Hyperides, sonority (sonitus) for Aeschines, force (vis) for Demosthenes, and so on, including the difference between the oratory of Antonius and himself. Antonius, for his part, dealing with imitation and training, had called attention to the fact that in the past, each particular historical period had produced a particular kind of oratory (De oratore, 11.92). George, however, had probably been most impressed by Crassus's words when, dealing with the virtues of the style (virtutes elocutionis), he took up the subject of propriety (aptum). On that occasion he reminded his listeners that because one kind of speech (orationis unum genus) cannot suit every cause (causa), every listener (auditor), every person (persona), and so forth, it is necessary to use the grand style, the plain, and the middle accordingly (De oratore, III.210-12). This, at least, is the passage quoted almost verbatim in the Rhetoricorum libri quinque when, again playing on the synonymy between formae and genera dicendi, George referred to Cicero as the only Latin source he could find for the necessity to 'work hard in many kinds of speaking.'17

¹⁶ De oratore, III.34: 'nonne fore ut, quot oratores, totidem paene reperiantur genera dicendi?'. Translation from Cicero, 'De oratore', trans. by Rackham, II, 29. All other English translations from Cicero's De oratore are from Cicero, On the Ideal Orator, trans. by May and Wisse. On this passage, see also Leeman, Pinkster, and Wisse, M. Tullius Cicero, De oratore libri III, Kommentar IV, pp. 197ff.

 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ George of Trebizond, $\it Rhetoricorum\ libri\ quinque,$ ed. by Deitz, pp. 494–95: 'insudare in

What is particularly interesting in this quotation is the reference to the appropriate use of the three styles. It is indeed in the criterion of a stylistic appropriateness $(\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\sigma\nu)$ that George saw the bridge that could combine the doctrines of Hermogenes and Cicero in his ingenious discussion of the *elocutio*. In his works, the *genera* or *formae dicendi* are simple entities which, mixed together, build the three well-known styles (*figurae*): ¹⁸ the grand, the middle, and the plain. Writing to Vittorino da Feltre he explicitly focused on this relationship:

Now let us undertake our purpose, but after saying that we did not have the intention of talking at present of those *figurae* whose names are well known to all who have some knowledge of oratory, that is of the grand, the middle, and the plain genre of style. Our intention was to talk of those *formae* or *genera* which, being very simple, build through their mixture the three previous *figurae*.¹⁹

Some years later, in the *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, George came to deal with this question again in more detail, considering as a link between *figurae* and *for-*

plura dicendi genera.' As a *captatio benevolentiae*, George complained about the lack of previous Latin discussions on this subject: see George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 494: 'Nobis in Latino sermone nullus est, qui hac in re opem praebere possit' ('There is nobody in the Latin language who could be of help in this regard').

18 Figura is the Latin name for the Greek χαρακτήρ which George also uses to refer to the three styles in the George of Trebizond, Rhetoricorum libri quinque, ed. by Deitz (p. 457). Figura with this meaning is found in Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV.11 and Cicero, De oratore, III.199 and III.212. See also Emporii oratoris, De ethopoeia, ed. by Halm, p. 561, ll.7–8. More widespread, however, was the Latin wording genera dicendi: see, for instance, Cicero, Orator, 20, 69; and Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, XII.10.58. Also interesting, but with a different meaning, is the coupling of forma and figura by Cicero himself to refer to the style of the speech: see De oratore, II.98 and III.34; and Leeman, Pinkster, and Wisse, M. Tullius Cicero, De oratore libri III, Kommentar IV, p. 172.

19 De generibus dicendi, §4: 'Nunc quod pol<l>iciti sumus aggrediamur, sed si illud prius dixerimus: nos animum non induxisse de iis impresentiarum figuris dicere quarum nomina ab omnibus ferme qui aliquid oratorie artis <habent> notissima sunt, de sublimi, videlicet, mediocri, et attenuata, sed iis formis atque generibus que, cum simplicissima sint, permixtione sua superiores figuras efficient.' This relationship between formae and figurae, brought into focus by George, has been strongly criticized by Monfasani, George of Trebizond, p. 256: 'he mistakenly suggested that the Hermogenean forms were the elements from which one constructed the traditional three Latin genera dicendi instead of viewing the forms for what they were, i.e., a competing and much more precise and flexible system of stylistics.' I have tried to defend George against this criticism in Calboli Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences', pp. 152–53 by showing that he could have been inspired by two Prolegomena to Hermogenes' Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου, published in Prolegomenon Sylloge, ed. by Rabe, pp. 375–88 and 393–420. In these texts the three χαραχτήρες (ἀδρός, ἰσχνός, μέσος) are said to be constituted by the ἰδέωι.

mae the evident coincidence of their constitutive elements. Investigating more in detail (*distinctius*) the individual *formae* was therefore nothing other than a more precise discussion of what builds the *figurae* themselves, first taken into account as a 'kind of raw and confused material for general use'.²⁰

Given the important role played by the elements which, just like parts, build the different genera dicendi, we should not wonder that George also wanted to explain the function of some of them when he was dealing with sweetness in particular. The passage in question (De suavitate dicendi, §§5-6), however, deserves some comment. Hermogenes had actually focused on this topic twice; he first stressed the importance of three of these elements, that is, thoughts (ἔννοια or έννοιαι), approach to the thoughts (μέθοδος), and style (λέξις) appropriate to these,²¹ and only in an additional distinction did he detail what makes the peculiarity of style: figures (σχήματα), clauses (κῶλα), word order (συνθέσεις), cadences (ἀναπαύσεις) and rhythm (ἱνθμός). This hierarchical classification disappeared, however, when a few lines further on — after exemplifying how to create sweetness — Hermogenes no longer listed the last five items as components of style (λέξις), but rather as co-ordinates with ἔννοιαι, μέθοδος, and λέξις, making up the set of eight headings under which it is possible to classify all kinds of style.²² Neither in the first nor in second instance, however, did he comment on the function of the individual elements.

Despite its evident reminiscence of the introduction to the Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγον, George's approach to this matter appears to be quite personal. Summarizing in a few lines (De suavitate dicendi, §5) what Hermogenes had discussed much more extensively, he calls attention to the fact that amplificatio and deminutio, as well as a careful imitation of one or another author, are only possible when the orator is able to master all the components of the speech. After this premise he announces to Girolamo Bragadin that these elements number eight (De suavitate dicendi, §6: 'Octo igitur scias, Hieronime, [...]') and he lists them once again, according to an apparently hierarchical scheme: first sententiae, artificium, and verba et vocabula, then exornationes, membra, collocationes, numerus, and clausula which are considered to be accidentia of verba or sententiae 'artificio tractata' (dealt with according to art).

²⁰ George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 457: 'sylva quaedam atque materia universa et confusa.' A deeper analysis of this question can be found in Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences', pp. 153–54.

²¹ Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου, in Hermogenes, Opera, ed. by Rabe, p. 218, ll. 18–26.

²² Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου, in Hermogenes, *Opera*, ed. by Rabe, p. 220, ll. 5–7.

This presentation, which is at first sight similar to Hermogenes' first list, together with the comments which George adds on the individual elements, shows his incredible ability to interweave his different sources. *Sententiae* obviously represent the content of the speech: without them, says George, words are empty, as if they were pronounced by animals instead of rational human beings.²³ What could be more Ciceronian than this statement? After all, the necessity of coupling style and content is the leitmotif of Cicero's *De oratore*. In the introduction to the first book (*De oratore*, I.17; I.20) 'empty' words are mentioned as the opposite of true eloquence. Later, when defining *sententia* in the *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*,²⁴ George also qualified the use of mere words as 'furiosum' (mad), as Crassus had done in *De oratore*, I.51.

In regard to the nature of sweet thoughts (sententiae suaves), however, George for the most part went back to Hermogenes and briefly mentioned the sweetness of mythical thoughts (*De suavitate dicendi*, §9; sententiae 'fabulose plane') and thoughts that are like myths (sententiae which 'modo quodam attingunt fabulas').25 Then, following Hermogenes,26 he dealt longer with the sweetness of what is pleasant to the senses (De suavitate dicendi, §9). The individuality of his text at this point, however, is its shift towards philosophical considerations. Apparently stimulated by Hermogenes' statement that 'Whatever anyone enjoys doing he will also enjoy hearing described;²⁷ which he faithfully translates 'universaliter quecumque iucunda sunt factu, dicta quoque placent suavibus verbis' (De suavitate dicendi, §10; 'in general what is pleasant to be done is also pleasant when said with agreeable words'), George builds step by step what he first presents as his personal opinion about the appropriateness of a speech in this regard — 'But in my opinion an enormous difference in this regard is due to the condition of the persons (the orator must always use this criterion), and the appropriateness of the particular occasion'²⁸ — and then, in more general terms, deals with appropriateness as the genuine meaning of gravitas (De suavitate dicendi, §11).

²³ De suavitate dicendi, §6: 'sententias, sine quibus non more hominis qui rationem natura consecutus est, sed bestiarum usu inania verba efferuntur'; 'Thoughts, without which empty words are pronounced, not according to the habit of men, who by nature are rational beings, but as animals do'.

²⁴ George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 497.

 $^{^{25}}$ Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου, in Hermogenes, Opera, ed. by Rabe, p. 330, l. 18–23.

²⁶ Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου, in Hermogenes, *Opera*, ed. by Rabe, p. 331, l. 11–13.

²⁷ Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου, in Hermogenes, *Opera*, ed. by Rabe, p. 332, l. 4–6.

²⁸ De suavitate dicendi, §10: 'Sed facit in his personarum conditio, cuius ratio semper oratori adhibenda est, oportunitas et occasio temporis maximam meo iudicio differentiam.'

This last point is extremely interesting. *Gravitas* is indeed the word which George used since his letter to Vittorino da Feltre (De generibus dicendi, §§5, 30) to name the Hermogenean δεινότης, the last of the ίδέαι which the Greek author dealt with. According to Hermogenes' definition, however, δεινότης, the true δεινότης, was more than a simple ίδέα: its essence — as he said — was 'to be able to use all those elements that create the body of a speech as and when they should be used' (p. 369, ll. 7-9). Hermogenes had therefore considered δεινότης as a question of πρέπον and accordingly, although well aware that the ancients had given to δεινός the sense of 'feared', 'great', 'powerful' (p. 370, l. 12), he had considered as δεινός the orator who 'knows when he should use each particular iδέα and when he should not and where he should use it and for how long and against whom and how and why' (p. 369, l. 19-21). What deserves attention at this point is the fact that the choice of the Latin word *gravitas* to translate δεινότης was certainly not due to chance. Cicero's ideal orator was behind it, as is proved by the definition of the gravis orator that George gives in the letter De generibus dicendi to Vittorino da Feltre, summing up his abilities in mastering the criterion of propriety: 'We can say that the orator gravis is the orator who, after investigating carefully the case, accurately and almost in a godlike manner adapts the words to it.'29

A few years later, addressing Girolamo Bragadin in his letter *De suavitate dicendi*, George went back to this understanding of *gravitas* and fully expressed what was implicit in the wording 'to investigate carefully' ('diligenter perspicere'); it is the appropriateness that is the fruit of philosophical knowledge:

²⁹ De generibus dicendi, §30: 'oratorem eum gravem dicere possumus qui causa diligenter perspecta subtiliter ac pene divine verba ei accommodat' (my emphasis); see also De generibus dicendi, §2: 'si orator esse solus dicitur qui orationem rebus accommodat, qui erit eloquens cum ipsa ignoret genera dicendi?' ('If he alone can be called orator who adapts his speech to the subject matter, who can be *eloquens* if he does not know the *genera dicendi* themselves?'). George's source, albeit unacknowledged, is a passage in Cicero's Orator where, after mentioning the need for the orator to differentiate his speech according to the situation, Cicero had linked the choice of the traditional styles with the quality of the content: Orator, 123: 'Nam nec semper nec apud omnis nec contra omnis nec pro omnibus nec cum omnibus eodem modo dicendum arbitror. Is erit igitur eloquens, qui ad id quodcumque decebit poterit accommodare orationem. Quod cum statuerit, tum ut quicque erit dicendum ita dicet, nec satura ieiune nec grandia minute nec item contra, sed erit rebus ipsis par et aequalis oratio' ('In my opinion one must not speak in the same style at all times, nor before all people, nor against all opponents, nor in defence of all clients, nor in partnership with all advocates. He, therefore, will be eloquent who can adapt his speech to fit all conceivable circumstances. Once this is determined, he will speak each part as it should be spoken; a rich subject not to be treated meagrely, nor a grand subject in a paltry way, nor vice versa, but the speech will be proper and adequate to the subject'); Cicero, Orator, trans. by Hubbell.

You are not unaware that there are thoughts which, even though they have *gravitas* in particular, are nevertheless not at all remote from sweetness. They are those which you know very well [...] that is, attributing to each one what belongs to him according to the distinction of ranks, explaining what is appropriate to an old person, to a young one, to a man, to a woman, making clear how sovereigns should command, how people should obey the commands.³⁰

All these *sententiae* — George tells his friend — flow *a media philosophia* (*De suavitate dicendi*, §11). It is when he stirs up pleasure in the audience that the orator, coupling *prudentia* with *eloquentia*, can be said to be *gravis*: 'We call *graves* men who join wisdom to eloquence being wise because of the weight of their thoughts and eloquent because of the pleasantness of their speech.' After dealing with other kinds of *sententiae suaves*, mostly of Hermogenean origin, George progresses to what appears to be a very interesting part of his exposition of sweetness.

What Hermogenes called μέθοδος, George called artificium.³² According to the definition George found in Hermogenes' text, this was the way to deal with the thought (μέθοδος περὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν; p. 218, l. 19). As a very good reader of Hermogenes, George grasped the meaning of the ancient writer's synthetic definition. Thus when he went on to discuss this topic himself in the Rhetoricorum libri quinque, he not only stated more explicitly that artificium is the way and manner in which a thought is explained in words ('via et modus quo sententia verbis explicatur'), but also added that the use of the figures of thought was in question: 'all the embellishments, which many people call "figures of thought", seem to be considered here' ('Huic omnes exornationes, quas sententiarum multi appellant, subiciendae videntur').³³ What is remarkable, then, is the comment that follows the mention of artificium in the De suavitate dicendi. We find here not its definition, but, as it were, the reason for its presence within the eight components of any speech:

³⁰ De suavitate dicendi, §11: 'quasdam esse non ignoras sententias que, cum gravitatis plurimum habeant, a suavitate tamen abhorrent minime. Ee sunt quas tu optime tenes [...] suum, scilicet, unicuique officiorum divisione tribuere, quid seni, quid iuveni, quid viro, quid mulieri conveniat enodare, qualiter imperare principes, sequi mandata populus debeant, aperire.'

 $^{^{31}}$ De suavitate dicendi, §11: 'Hoc sententiarum pondere prudentes, eloquentes iocunditate, et prudentia simul ac eloquentia graves esse dicimus homines.'

³² It should be noted, however, that in the description of the single *formae* in George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, the Latin word *artificium* almost disappears in favour of *methodus*.

³³ George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 497.

Artifice, which completely distinguishes and separates men who are unschooled and inexperienced in speaking from those who are skilled in that area, allows the orator to join and deliver following a definitive method what the unschooled speaker says accidentally and more according to his breath than to art, so that all things seem to be encompassed by an artistic rhythm that is at once confined and free.³⁴

In reading these words, we should note that what George says in his letter to Girolamo Bragadin has nothing to do with the correct understanding of the Hermogenean μέθοδος περὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν. Without quoting Cicero, George was actually paraphrasing what Crassus had said when he was warning his listeners against a wrong use of the *coniunctio verborum*, in an attempt to make a *numerosa oratio* (rhythmical speech):

In this connection, it is especially important to note that, while it is a mistake if the combination of the words in a speech produces a line of verse, at the same time we want this combination, like verse, to conclude rhythmically, to fit neatly, and to be well rounded. Among the many things that distinguish the orator from those unskilled and inexperienced in speaking, there is nothing that does so more clearly than this: the unschooled speaker crudely pours out as much as he can, and lets his breath, not art, determine the limits of what he says. The orator, on the other hand, so ties his thoughts to the words that all of them are encompassed by a kind of rhythm that is at once confined and free.³⁵

Apparently this passage made a strong impression on George, because he used it again — once more without quoting the source — when he dealt with the importance of *compositio* in his later handbook:

Therefore we must concede that *compositio* is indeed most important in the speech. There is nothing that differentiates a man cultivated and skilled in speaking more clearly from one unschooled and uncultivated, than the fact that the man inexperienced in speaking puts together the words casually. The orator, on the

³⁴ *De suavitate dicendi*, §6: 'Artificium, quod rudes ignarosque dicendi viros semovet atque omnino separat a doctis atque dicendi peritis ut quod vir rudis casu dicat et spiritu magis quam arte determinet, id orator sic eligat, sic certa via pronunciet ut omnia videantur artis complecti numero et adstricto et soluto.'

³⁵ De oratore, III.175: 'In quo illud est vel maximum, quod, versus in oratione si efficitur coniunctione verborum, vitium est, et tamen eam coniunctionem sicuti versum numerose cadere et quadrare et perfici volumus; neque est ex multis res una, quae magis oratorem ab imperito dicendi ignaroque distinguat, quam quod ille rudis incondite fundit quantum potest et id quod dicit spiritu, non arte determinat, orator autem sic inligat sententiam verbis ut eam numero quodam complectatur et adstricto et soluto.'

contrary, so ties his thought to the words that he encompasses it within a kind of determined *compositio*.³⁶

But *compositio* was not *artificium*. It was the third of the three main headings of George's new outline of the components of the speech:

Therefore it seems to me that there are three elements without which we realize that a speech cannot even exist: they are *sententia*, *methodus* or *artificium*, and *compositio*, which in my opinion consists of these six parts: *dictio*, i.e. *verba*, *exornatio*, *membrum*, *collocatio*, *clausula*, and *numerus*.³⁷

We cannot discuss here the difference between George's approach to this subject in his letter *De suavitate dicendi* and his *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*.³⁸ What matters here is the fact that Crassus's words are certainly more suited to the second context, concerned with *compositio*, than when referring to *artificium*. Why then did George quote these words in regard to *artificium*? And, more importantly, are these words consistent with what he says later (*De suavitate dicendi*, §§14–18), when he comes to deal in detail with the *artificium* that creates sweetness?

In this passage, George calls attention to the need for the *oratio* to be *clara* and focuses on *variatio* as the main source of *suavitas*. At this point he builds, as it were, a skyscraper on the Hermogenean foundation stone. The only reference to Hermogenes' text that I have found in this regard is the mention he makes

³⁶ George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 499: 'Quare compositionem plurimum in oratione posse, concedendum est, nec res est, qua doctus homo dicendique peritus, a rudi et agresti magis differat, quam quod ignarus dicendi, casu verba componit. Orator autem sic alligat sententiarum verbis, ut eam certa quadam compositione complectatur.'

³⁷ George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 497: 'Tria igitur nobis videntur, sine quibus ne constare quidem orationem intellegimus, sententia, methodus vel artificium, compositio, quam his sex tamquam partibus constare putamus, dictione, hoc est verbis, exornatione, membro, collocatione, clausula et numero.'

³⁸ George dealt with these component elements three times (*De generibus dicendi*, §5; *De suavitate dicendi*, §6; and George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 497) and in three different ways: see the diagrams in Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences', pp. 155–57. What I would like to note here, however, is the fact that *compositio* is not mentioned in the letter to Girolamo Bragadin. In George's discussion of this topic in *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, *compositio* is more likely a Ciceronian inheritance: it is an abstract stylistic concept that does not exist on its own, but only as the sum of its parts. Mastering *compositio* gives the orator the power to impress the soul of the hearers: 'Compositio est quae facit ut omnis oratio [...] animum auditoris expolitione afficiat' ('compositio' is what lets all speeches [...] affect the soul of the hearers by means of their embellishments'); George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 469.

of the use of different cases. Because Hermogenes dealt with sweetness twice, he twice mentioned the necessary approaches to this subject matter, but always very briefly. The first time he limited himself to saying that one must deal with the thoughts 'as the principal theme and in a narrative fashion, rather than treating them allusively or in some other way' (μέθοδοι δὲ τὸ προηγουμένως καὶ σὺν ἀφηγήσει αὐτὰς [the thoughts] διεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ὑποβολῆς ἤ πως ἐτέρως, p. 219, ll. 6–8). On the second occasion, he was even more circumspect, saying only that 'The methods that create sweetness are the same as those that produce purity and simplicity' (Μέθοδοι δὲ αὐτὴν [sc. sweetness] ποιοῦσιν, αἴπερ καὶ τὴν καθαρότητα καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν, p. 335, ll. 24–25).

It was in dealing with the method that created purity (καθαρότης) that Hermogenes spoke of the cases: first he said that only one method was suited to purity, that is when someone simply narrates the facts without adding anything extraneous (p. 227, ll. 19–22), because to do so would be appropriate rather to abundance ($\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta o \lambda \acute{\eta}$). He then mentioned the use of nominative and oblique cases as figures of narration (pp. 228, l. 25-229, l. 1) and explained that only the use of nominative cases ($\partial \rho \partial \delta \tau \eta \varsigma$) is appropriate to purity (p. 229, l. 19), whereas oblique cases (πλαγιασμοί) are more appropriate to abundance because they introduce further thoughts. It is the difference, he argued, between a sentence like 'Croesus was' (Κροῖσος ἦν), clear and pure, and a sentence like 'When Croesus was' (Κροίσου ὄντος), a genitive absolute, that leaves the meaning of the sentence in suspense and necessarily requires something else to follow (p. 230, ll. 5–14). George seems to master Hermogenes' text without difficulty; he picks up from it the opposition of nominative case and oblique cases, but instead of considering the use of the nominative case as appropriate only to sweetness (which is Hermogenes' advice), he interprets the different effects of the cases as an allusion to varietas and addresses Girolamo Bragadin in this way: 'You will be varied if, always being clear, you sometimes use in your speech the nominative case, whilst sometimes your speech abounds in oblique cases.'39

Why 'varied' (*varius*)? Because according to him, as we have seen, *varietas* is the chief means of creating *suavitas*: 'Variety seems to have the largest utility and sweetness not only for painters or poets or actors, but also in any field where it is appropriate, especially in the arena of the orator.'⁴⁰ Cicero's ghost is manifestly

³⁹ De suavitate dicendi, §15: 'varius ergo eris si, cum clarus semper sis, nunc recte orationem efferas, modo casibus obliquis redundes.'

⁴⁰ De suavitate dicendi, §14: 'varietas non modo pictoribus aut poetis aut histrionibus, sed etiam cum omni in re, dum apte fiat, tum maxime in oratoria facultate et utilitatis et suavitatis videtur habere plurimum.'

haunting George here. Cicero referred many times to the need for *varietas*, in any field, on any occasion, and for the pleasure it provided: *varie dicere* belongs to the divine power and the virtue of the true orator (*De oratore*, I.59; II.120). His job is *variare orationem* (*De inventione*, I.76; *De oratore*, II.36); his *varietas dicendi* (*De oratore*, I.50; I.218) consists, for example, in the *varietas* of the subject matter dealt with (*De inventione*, I.27; *Brutus*, 306; *De oratore*, III.121; III.126; *Orator*, 14), the *varietas* of the tones of the voice (*De oratore*, I.18; III.227; *Orator*, 57; *Partiones oratorie*. 25), of the *clausulae* and of the *numeri* (*De oratore*, III.176; III.186; III.191; *Orator*, 226), of the figures (*De oratore*, II.36), and of the styles (*De oratore*, III.177; *Orator*, 70). *Varietas* is always a remedy against *fastidium* and *satietas* (*De inventione*, I.98; *De oratore*, II.177; III.33; III.193; *Orator*, 175, 219).

Cicero had never, however, explicitly considered *varietas* to be derived from the use of nominative cases alternating with oblique cases. George did not hesitate to twist the meaning of Hermogenes' precepts until the use of different cases could be fitted into the Ciceronian teaching of *suavitas* as a consequence of *varietas*. George then very briefly mentions the aspects of *varietas* that result from careful word order — for instance, propositions and verbs alternating with names, avoiding hiatus — and concludes his discussion by reminding Girolamo Bragadin that what he had just explained was by no means supposed to be exhaustive; he had only meant to show Bragadin the beginning of a longer path: 'But now what I have said about *artificium* is enough. Indeed, rather than daring to discover and tell you all, I decided to write these notes to show you the beginnings and the roots, as it were, so that you might know clearly where to direct your steps.'⁴²

Can we now answer our question regarding the consistency of these precepts with George's use of Crassus's words to explain the importance of *artificium*? The only link between the two passages seems to be the synonymy between *artificium* and *ars*. According to Crassus, the difference between one who is *rudis* and the *orator* was the knowledge of *ars*. Very often, however, Cicero had used the word *artificium* instead.⁴³ Although well aware of this overlap, ⁴⁴ George has been mis-

⁴¹ See in this regard Fantham, 'Varietas and satietas'.

⁴² De suavitate dicendi, §18: 'Verum de artificio satis. Magis enim hec, ut principia et quasi radices quasdam tibi traderem, scribere constitui ut habeas certi quo gressum dirigas quam ut omnia invenire ac dicere posse confidam.'

⁴³ See for example *De inventione*, 1.6; 1.7; *De oratore*, 1.50; 1.93; 1.96; 1.146; 11.29; and *Orator*, 140.

⁴⁴ See George's use of *artificium* with the meaning of *ars* a few lines further on when he says that *exornationes*, *membra*, *collocationes*, *numerus*, and *clausula* are 'aut verborum aut sententiarum *artificio* tractata [...] accidentia' ('accidents [...] either of words or of thoughts

led by his own translation of the Hermogenean $\mu \& \partial \partial o \zeta$ into the Latin *artificium*. That he was mistaken in his misapplication of Crassus's words to *artificium* is demonstrated by the fact that in the *Rhetoricorum libri quinque* the same passage of *De oratore* is correctly quoted as referring to *compositio*.

From here on, George's discussion of the remaining individual elements that build sweetness (*verba*, *exornationes*, *membra*, *collocatio*, *clausula*, and *numerus*) becomes briefer, but is still detailed enough to indicate how much he was indebted to Cicero's rhetorical precepts. Again, what can have been more Ciceronian than to recall Girolamo Bragadin again and again to the importance of the pleasure of the ears in determining the right choice of *verba* (§19), *clausulae* (§27), and *numeri* (§28)?⁴⁵ What can have been more Ciceronian than mentioning the metaphor 'filum orationis'⁴⁶ when showing his addressee how to imitate Cicero in performing a speech *gravissime* and *suavissime* with a careful variety of *exornationes*? Indeed, at the very end of his letter, George returns to the question of imitation which was the initial purpose of his precepts:

We will first deal with those elements that include every composition style, all figures of speech and, finally, all *genera dicendi* so that after explaining them nothing else is left, nothing will be found lacking to enable us [...] to imitate this or that orator following a sure path and criterion.⁴⁷

Looking back and proud of the job done, George focuses on the imitation of Cicero: 'Now you know, Girolamo, my opinion in regard to sweetness. Follow it, so that, imitating Cicero, you fulfil his words and take his thoughts.'48

elaborated with art') (*De suavitate dicendi*, §6, my emphasis). See also §§20, 21. Also noteworthy in this regard is George's use of *ars* instead of *artificium* when dealing with the *methodus* of *purus sermo* (George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 501: 'Nunc de methodo puri sermonis dicendum est. Arte purum sermonis conficiemus [...]' ('Now we must speak of the *methodus* of the pure speech. We will make a pure speech in accordance with *ars* [...]')) and *elegantia* (George of Trebizond, *Rhetoricorum libri quinque*, ed. by Deitz, p. 526: 'Arte consequemur elegantiam et methodo' (We will attain elegance by *ars* and *methodus*)).

- ⁴⁵ See, for example, Cicero, *Orator*, 159: 'voluptati [...] aurium morigerari debet oratio' ('speech should gratify the ear'; Cicero, *Orator*, trans. by Hubbell).
 - ⁴⁶ See Cicero, *De oratore*, 11.93; 111.103; *Orator*, 124; and *De amicitia*, 25.
- ⁴⁷ De suavitate dicendi, §5: 'ea primo exponemus que omnem stilum, omnes orationis figuras, omnia denique dicendi genera sic complectuntur, sic tamquam partes conficiunt ut his explicatis nihil iam restet, nihil nobis desit quare non possimus [...] hunc aut illum oratorem certa via rationeque imitari.'
- ⁴⁸ De suavitate dicendi, §30: 'Habes, Hieronime, de suavitate meum iudicium. Quod ita sequere ut Ciceronis imitatione perficias eius verba, eius sententias capias.'

At this point, however, George warns Girolamo Bragadin against a misunderstanding widely current: imitation, he advises, is not to seize (*rapere*) from here and from there thoughts of a famous man and then to relate (*narrare*) everything with the same words. This would be theft, not imitation (*De suavitate dicendi*, §30: 'Nam id quidem furari est magis quam imitari'). What he wants his friend to do, on the contrary, is to take with intelligence deep thoughts from different authors and express them with Cicero's words: 'You will imitate in such a way that, having taken very intelligently (which you can do easily) thoughts suitable to your aim, sometimes from Cicero, sometimes from others and preferably from Aristotelian philosophy, which you know very well, you adapt to them Cicero's words.'⁴⁹

Two observations remain. First, looking at George's own writing we can say that in this regard he was, like Cicero, both teacher and example. Nevertheless, a doubt remains: when George dealt with the difference between one who is rudis and an orator, in the passage quoted above from De suavitate dicendi, §6, he took from Cicero both the thought and also many of the words: shall we say that this was imitation or theft? In the second place, and in regard to the theme of this volume, we may well ask how far George's letter to Girolamo Bragadin represents a text, or advice, that would have been used in the schools of grammar or rhetoric in George's day, or later. Virginia Cox is doubtful about this and asks whether even the Rhetoricorum libri quinque 'was really used as a teaching textbook in Venice'.50 Indeed, if the Rhetoricorum libri quinque was supposed to replace Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, we must conclude that George set his sights too high: the *Institutes* themselves were far too long and diffuse for regular schoolroom use, whether in the Middle Ages or later.⁵¹ The butt of a good deal of George's polemic, Guarino da Verona, himself a veteran of the schoolroom, stuck to the Ad Herennium throughout his teaching career.⁵² George's letters on stylistic and rhetorical topics to Vittorino da Feltre and Girolamo Bragadin⁵³ remain valiant frontier essays and any argument that they found their way into the schoolroom must be left to further research.

⁴⁹ De suavitate dicendi, §30: 'Tu ita imiteris ut ad propositum tuum nunc ab Cicerone, modo ab aliis et Aristotelica magis, quam optime tenes, philosophia tractis acutissime (quod facile tu facere potes) sententiis verba Ciceronis accommodes.'

 $^{^{50}}$ Cox, 'Rhetoric and Humanism in Quattrocento Venice', p. 675, cited in Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences', p. 140 n. 1.

⁵¹ See Ward, 'Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution'.

⁵² See Ward, 'The Lectures of Guarino da Verona on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'.

⁵³ Montefusco, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences', p. 142.

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SPREADING THE WORD: ANTONIO MANCINELLI, THE PRINTING PRESS, AND THE TEACHING OF THE STUDIA HUMANITATIS

Dugald McLellan*

f the total of 560 surviving editions or imprints up to 1600, either by Antonio Mancinelli himself or as commentator, editor, or contributor that I have compiled, 200 were published in his lifetime, and 360 after his death in 1505; of the 286 editions with Mancinelli as author, 132 were printed in his lifetime and 154 subsequently. They came from a total of more than two hundred printers in forty cities with a geographical spread extend-

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¹ Details of the Mancinelli census of publications will be published in another place. The main database sources are constantly updating as new information comes to hand (sometimes new entries, sometimes revisions of existing entries) and it is clear that the census will continue to be augmented — at the moment it must necessarily be 'in progress'. It is also clear that as the editions were primarily for the educational market, and were not necessarily seen as worthy of preservation in the longer term, whole print runs of an edition are likely to have disappeared altogether (a number of editions exist in one copy only which accentuates the precariousness of their survival). Conversely, where there are many surviving copies, the original print run may have been large.

ing from Rome to Cologne, and from London to Venice.² With an estimated average print run of, say, five hundred, this represents a total 280,000 copies of individual titles (often contained in collections).³ All these titles were aimed primarily at the educational market, although a number would have enjoyed a wider distribution. As today, many copies were no doubt passed on, resold, and had multiple users, suggesting that the total numbers of readers to have used one or more of these books was very much larger. These figures indicate that Mancinelli's texts had a pervasive role in the education of the youth of much of Europe in the late fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century.⁴

When we remember that the first book to be printed using moveable type in Italy was in Subiaco in 1465 (thirteen years after the birth of Mancinelli), it is remarkable how quickly the modern book trade developed, how astutely an educationalist/writer such as Mancinelli grasped the staggering potential that the new technology opened up for the dissemination of knowledge, and how quickly he adapted to its demands. In modern terms, Mancinelli was a best-selling author who today would have been the mainstay of any educational publisher's list. Because all his works were in Latin, the lingua franca of the educated class in every country of Europe, his influence extended beyond Italy to countries he never visited and cities he had never heard of. Although some aspects of the book industry had developed to a remarkably sophisticated level, the notion of intellectual property was not one of them. In the most favourable circumstance, Mancinelli, who continually bemoaned his impecunious state, would have entered into a contract with a printer under which he would have received one third of the anticipated sales, and he was presumably remunerated on a regular basis for his work as editor, but he would have had limited power to control the many unauthorized printings of his works.⁵

² Of the thirty-two printers/publishers to produce five or more editions (accounting for a total of 370 editions), the first five produced a total of 160 editions.

³ The size of print runs will always be largely speculative as too little evidence has survived to enable reliable figures to be presented. Martin Lowry states four hundred to five hundred copies as the accepted norm in Venice in the 1480s and 1490s when Mancinelli's works were first published, although he feels that it may have been as high as two thousand: see Lowry, *Nicolas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing*, pp. 181–83. Miriam Chrisman suggests an average of 1250 but says it could be inaccurate by 300–800! See Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture*, p. 5.

⁴ Although some works continued to be printed as independent volumes, more often they appeared in collections put together on specific themes or for a focused educational market. For the purposes of the census, the contents of the collected editions are based for the most part on the bibliographic descriptions of the holding institutions which are frequently incomplete and sometimes inaccurate.

⁵ Personal communication, Maurizio Campanelli. For the most comprehensive coverage of

Who was this man who was once a household name in humanist education in Europe? What did he write and why were his publications so widely used? Antonio Mancinelli was apparently the complete humanist educator. He moved with ease between school and university; similarly he was at home at the centre and at the periphery; he frequented the Academies of Pomponio Leto and Angelo Colocci and was on familiar terms with other leading humanists in Rome and Venice; and he produced a seemingly endless succession of grammatical texts, rhetorical manuals, moral treatises, compendia of epigrams, and commentaries on the classical authors which formed the basis of the curriculum of the *studia humanitatis*.⁶

Mancinelli's life can be stated briefly. Born in 1452, in the ancient hill-top town of Velletri, forty kilometres south of Rome, into a modest but quick-witted family, Antonio attended the communal school and showed an early aptitude for scholarly studies. He went on to the universities of Pisa and Perugia where he took out his doctorate in civil law, and later he graduated in medicine at Padua. His reputation as a teacher and writer soon led to him being in demand throughout central and northern Italy. His first appointment as communal schoolmaster was in his hometown of Velletri and this was followed by similar appointments to Sermoneta, Fano, and Orvieto. These appointments no doubt provided him with an income while giving him the opportunity to pursue his writing interests in which he was already engaged by the late 1470s. As well as these provincial school appointments, from 1486 to 1491 he taught first grammar and then rhetoric at the Studium in Rome (now commonly known as the Sapienza), and from 1500 to his death in 1505 he was professor humanitatis once more at the Sapienza. In the early 1490s he was based in Venice where his major activity seems to have been focused on publishing — researching, writing, and editing. This chapter will focus on two key interrelated aspects of his career: his publishing and his teaching.

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copyright at this time see Witcombe, Copyright in the Renaissance.

⁶ '[L]a frenetica attività di produzione di ogni sorta di manuali scolastici' as Silvia Rizzo describes it in Rizzo, *Ricerche sul latino umanistico*, 1, 493.

⁷ For many years the only biography of Mancinelli was Sabbadini, *Antonio Mancinelli, saggio storico-letterario*. See now Mellidi, 'Antonio Mancinelli, vita e opera'; Mellidi, 'Antonio Mancinelli'; and *Antonio Mancinelli*, ed. by Lazzari. More recently, Paul F. Gehl's researches into humanist educators and education, with particular reference to the role and impact of printing in that context, have led to the establishment of the website Gehl, 'Humanism for Sale'. See here in particular Chapter 3: 'Antonio Mancinelli and the Humanist Classroom'; see also Gehl, 'Off the Press into the Classroom'. For much of Mancinelli's biographical detail we are dependent on his autobiographical poem *Vite Sylva*, first published in 1493, and updated in subsequent editions of 1499 and 1505 (see *Antonio Mancinelli*, ed. by Lazzari, pp. 33–43).

Mancinelli's publications fall into three broad categories — grammatical, rhetorical, and moral — although there was clearly a good deal of cross-fertilization between them. Latin was, of course, the foundation for all humanistic studies — for Lorenzo Valla it was the foundation of civilization itself — and without a mastery of it, no progress was possible in the other areas of the curriculum. Mancinelli's credentials as grammarian were impressive. His version of the standard grammar manual of the age, *Donatus melior*, was first published in Rome in 1487. By the end of the century it would have been through eight new editions, often in the company of other syntactic and lexical manuals also by Mancinelli — his *Regulae constructionis*, *Summa declinationis*, *De arte libellus*, or *Thesaurus de varia constructione*. These manuals were basic textbooks for schools, used widely in Italy and beyond.

Underpinning the advanced humanist curriculum was the study and mastery of rhetoric. We know that in 1498 Mancinelli began his lectures in Orvieto with the *Ad Herennium*, still the standard handbook for rhetoric at the end of the fifteenth century. Mancinelli knew it well — he had written a commentary on it (Mancinelli, *Rhetorica ad Herennium commentariolus*) which became one of the most popular handbooks of the time, being printed in various combinations forty times up to 1542. This was the central core of a series of texts and handbooks aimed at expanding and reinforcing the rhetorical skills of the student which included his glosses of the *Elegantia* of Lorenzo Valla (*Lima in Vallam*, Venezia, 1492/93; and *Epitoma elegantiarum Laurentii Valla*, Venezia, 1494), and his *Carmen de floribus* (Roma, 1488), *Carmen de figuris* (Roma, 1489), *De oratore brachylogia* (Roma, after 17 December 1477), and *Versilogus* (Roma, after

⁸ For a summary of Mancinelli's school texts see Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 183–84; *Antonio Mancinelli*, ed. by Lazzari, pp. 49–70 and 97–106; and Mellidi, 'Antonio Mancinelli', pp. 452–53.

⁹ See Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy, p. 170.

¹⁰ According to John O. Ward, 'in the era of printing, the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium*, with commentaries, made up the basic rhetorical curriculum in the schools and academies'. See Ward, 'Renaissance Commentators on Ciceronian Rhetoric', p. 146.

¹¹ It was usually printed with the *De inventione* glossed by Victorinus, and often together with the commentary of Francesco Maturanzio. Although Mancinelli's commentary is dated Venice, 8 October 1493, the earliest surviving printing is 5 April 1494 in a collection also containing Mancinelli, *Epitoma elegantiarum Laurentii Valla* and Mancinelli, *Lima in Vallam*. For Mancinelli's commentary in the Renaissance context, see Ward, 'Renaissance Commentators on Ciceronian Rhetoric'; for the incunabular tradition, see Murphy and Davies, 'Rhetorical Incunabula'; and, specifically dealing with Mancinelli's commentary, see Voltolina, *Antonio Mancinelli* (I am grateful to Franco Lazzari for allowing me to consult the proofs of this work).

13 November 1488). Mancinelli himself was very conscious of the centrality of speech-making in public life — eloquence was the means by which virtue was communicated; it provided the active stimulant for an harmonious civil society.¹²

Secondary rhetoric, however, was perhaps even more prominent in the curriculum and again Mancinelli was no stranger to its secrets. His *Scribendi orandique modus* (Venezia, 1493) instructed students in the forms of written communication (as well as oratory). The models for students' writing were to be found above all in the writings of the masters of antiquity, and pre-eminently in the works of Cicero.

The third category, the moral writings, certainly provided models of how to speak and write, but their main purpose was as practical guides on how to live. The *Speculum de moribus* (Roma, 1499), dedicated to his son Festo, was a poem in four parts, each on the theme of the four cardinal virtues. But the majority of these writings consisted of collections of extracts from classical authors on specific themes. The popular *De poetica virtute* (Roma, 1490) is specific in its aim: that the power of poetry and the study of the humanities will lead one to the good. The titles of the sections indicate the unambiguous moral import of the book: each of the seven deadly sins appears, there is a section on the evils of gambling, the immortality of the soul is represented by a passage from Ovid: 'All souls are deathless', and under the heading 'Don't seek revenge' is a quotation from Juvenal: 'For vengeance is the delight of a little, weak, and petty mind; of which you may straightway draw proof from this — that no one so rejoices in vengeance as a woman.' ¹⁴

More narrowly focused were his twin books on the upbringing of children: *De parentum cura* and *De filiorum in parentes obedientia, honore & pietate* (Venezia, 1502). In this case the ancient authors provide the structure, giving Mancinelli the opportunity to select and loosely thread together quotations selected from their works. The authors are predominantly classical — Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Pliny, Solinus, Herodotus, Virgil, and so on — but there is a smattering of representatives from the Judeo-Christian tradition — Solomon,

¹² As schoolmaster in Orvieto, Mancinelli was obliged 'each week on feast days [...] to arrange public debates among the students in the church of S. Maria, or the church of S. Francesco, or in the piazza [del Duomo]' ('Item tenearis singula edogmada diebus festis fieri facere disputationem inter discipulos in locis publicis dicte civitatis, vid. in ecclesia sancte Marie, aut sancti Francisci, aut in Platea'), Orvieto, Arch. di Stato, *Riformanze*: 1498, 10 March, cc. 175^r–175^v. See also the discussion on the *Sermonum decas* below.

¹³ Metamorphoses, xv.158: 'morte carent animæ.'

¹⁴ Satires, XIII.189–92: 'quippe minuti semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas ultio, continuo sic collige, quod vindicta nemo magis gaudet quam femina.'

Matthew, Paul, Jerome, and Basil. Perhaps the most interesting of these moral writings is the *Sermonum decas* (Roma, 1503), a little-studied compendium of model addresses, to which I will return shortly. In the tradition of Catullus and Martial, Mancinelli also published a first volume of his epigrams, *Primus epigrammaton libellus* (Roma, 1503).¹⁵

More generally, the great poets and historians of antiquity also enjoyed a firm position in the humanistic curriculum that was intent on producing the accomplished public man, both as models of style and as explorations of the moral condition. Mancinelli produced commentaries on a range of classical authors — Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Juvenal, Herodotus, and Strabo¹⁷ — mostly published along with other commentaries, both ancient and modern.

We have here a writer of a comprehensive range of books for the classroom, whose material is almost exclusively derived from classical authors, and whose objective is the training of young males in the forms of thought and expression that will enable them to lead good and useful lives as heads of families, as professional and public figures, and as participants in an ordered civil society.

* * *

The title of Mancinelli's first printed work, 'ad discipulos suos, declinationis opusculum cum generibus' ('to his students, a little work on declining with genders'), ¹⁸ clearly focuses the very specific, if limited, aims of his publishing endeavours. His early projects were born of a combination of necessity and vocation. As a young teacher in a provincial grammar school, daily faced with communicating a complex set of rules and principles to a classroom of students mostly of modest intelligence and often less commitment, he quickly realized that to be an effective teacher he needed to acknowledge their capacity and harness what potential they had. It was all too clear that the tools of learning needed to be adapted specifically to the needs and the capacities of the students. Again and again in his writings he reaffirms his pedagogical aims and his acknowledgement of the need for pragmatic

¹⁵ An extended treatment of this volume is shortly to be published: Lozzi and Lazzari, *Gli Epigrammi di Antonio Mancinelli*.

¹⁶ According to Grendler, teaching history was 'the Renaissance's most original curricular innovation', Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 255.

¹⁷ Mancinelli declared that he had produced editions of Persius, Solinus and Valerius Maximus (Mancinelli, *Vitæ sylva*, ll. 136–37, published in *Antonio Mancinelli*, ed. by Lazzari, p. 40) and of Diodorus (in his Dedication to Herodotus, *Historiæ*), but no copies have survived.

¹⁸ Mancinelli, Summa declinationis.

solutions rather than lofty purity.¹⁹ His commitment to the education of youth is a constant theme in his writings throughout his long publishing career. The dedications of his first two works — *Summa declinationis* to Sylla and Cornelio, the two sons of the Velletri doctor Battista Gori, and the *De oratore brachylogia* to his brother Bernardino²⁰ — affirm the local base of his activities in these years.

With the move to Rome in 1486 to take up the position of lecturer in the Sapienza there is a flurry of activity in his writing projects and a new intellectual stimulus is evident from the greater diversity of subject matter. In the last three years of the decade Mancinelli published ten books, all of them for the school curriculum.²¹ The range and quality of his dedicatees reflect his assimilation into a very much more sophisticated environment. Although two are dedicated to his sons Pindaro, Quinto, and Festo, the remainder are of a very different order: Giacomo Luzi, Bishop of Cajazzo and Apostolic Referendary in the Roman Curia;²² Giovanni Michele, son of Domenico de' Buonauguri, distinguished professor of civil law at the Sapienza; Orso Orsini, Rector of the Roman *Studium*; Filippo Pallavicini, nephew of Antoniotto Cardinal S. Prassede; Michael, the nephew of Janos Vitéz, Hungarian ambassador to the papal court; Antonio Petrica, physician to the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus; and Pomponio Leto, *pontifex maximus* of the Roman Academy.

Mancinelli's early publishing ventures, modest as they undoubtedly were, provided him with an entrée, through the bustling activity of the printing houses, into the broader intellectual society of Rome. From the printery of Bartolomeus Guldinbeck (active 1475–88), Mancinelli moved to the two most prolific printers of late Quattrocento Rome — Stephan Plannck and Eucario Silber²³ — who,

¹⁹ For example, in Mancinelli, *Carmen de figuris*, in his 'Address to the Reader', Mancinelli goes into some detail on the process of instruction because he knows that 'many [teachers] do not possess the correct method and practice of teaching' ('Sciens itaque multos recta docendi & uia & consuetudine carere'). None of the texts published in Mancinelli's lifetime is paginated.

This was composed during Mancinelli's first period of teaching at Velletri, and published after 17 December 1477. Also published around this time was Mancinelli, *Regimen verborum*, but only one copy survives, no doubt reflecting the very practical nature of the book and its dispensability.

²¹ See below, n. 24.

²² Mancinelli makes specific reference to Luzi's nephews Filippo and Tullio, suggesting that he was their tutor. Like Mancinelli, the Bishop (with co-author Johann Burchard, celebrated Master of Ceremonies to Alexander VI) was published by Stephan Plannck.

²³ Plannck, originally from Passau, was active in Rome between 1480 and 1500, producing over three hundred editions; Silber, a native of Würzburg, ran a successful printery between 1480 and 1509, when it was passed on to his son Marcello.

from 1487, more or less equally shared his publications.²⁴ Their lists reflected the particular demands and markets of papal Rome: the mainstay was provided by 'a ceaseless flow of Latin addresses, harangues and sermons;²⁵ but there was the occasional volume of Cicero, Claudian, or Vitruvius, and the odd manual on grammar or rhetoric aimed more precisely at the school market. Among the contemporary writers who sustained the backlist of these publishing houses, mainly in the form of orations, were Ermolao Barbaro, Raffaele Brandolini, Ottavio Cleofilo, Alessandro Cortese, Bartolomeo Florido, Pietro Gravina, Benedetto Maffei, and Pietro Marsi, all of them active in Roman humanist circles.

Mancinelli's first publications had clearly found a market — the Summa declinationis (first published c. 1476) was probably reprinted over the next decade, although no copies have survived, until, around 1490, Silber included it in an Opusculum containing other works by Mancinelli;26 the *De oratore* (first published c. 1477) was soon taken over by Plannck and reprinted regularly over the following decade.²⁷ Mancinelli's first Roman period from 1486 to 1491, immediately before his departure to Fano, was one of great productivity. It was during this time that he published his first commentary on a classical text. The Virgil, printed by Silber on 20 October 1490, was the direct outcome of Mancinelli's lecture series given in the Sapienza, as he proclaimed in his Proemio, 'on the Bucolics and Georgics of Virgil, prince of poets, with the intention of also offering them for the instruction of later generations'.28 Mancinelli was very conscious that he was part of a long succession of commentators going back to Servius and antiquity, and that he needed to justify a new edition — no doubt partly reflecting a genuine humility, but also in order to demonstrate the saleability of the volume, and to reinforce his own confidence that the commentary would become part of the illustrious succession he had so doggedly set up, as indeed it did.²⁹

²⁴ Plannck published Mancinelli's *Donatus melior* (1487); *Spica* (1488); *Catonis carmen de moribus*, *Commentariolus in Catonis carmina xxIIII* (December 1487); *De arte libellus* (December 1487); *Versilogus* (after 13 November 1488); *De poetica virtute* (1 August 1490); and *Thesaurus de varia constructione* (6 December 1490). Silber published Mancinelli's *Carmen de floribus* (after 1 August 1489); *Carmen de figuris* (after 5 August 1489); and *Epitoma seu regula constructionis* (c. 1490).

²⁵ Catalogue of Books Printed in the xvth Century, ed. by Pollard and others, IV (1916), p. xiii.

 $^{^{26}}$ It was printed together with *Epitoma seu regulæ constructionis*, apparently published for the first time, and *De poetica virtute*.

²⁷ Five editions have survived from the period to 1491: *c.* 1480, *c.* 1481, *c.* 1485, *c.* 1491 (2).

²⁸ Vergilius cum quinque commentis: 'Bucolica & Georgica [...] publice profitebar ut posteris quoque impartiendum censerem'.

²⁹ Before his *Proemio*, Mancinelli quotes a poem [no title] of Girolamo Maserio of Forlì

His objective, again very firmly directed at his potential buyers, is explicit:

I have not published my commentaries with the intention of taking learned men to task, although there are always differences of opinion, but so that Virgil's poetry might be made easier and more transparent. It was to this purpose that I applied my efforts, my time and my care, both to correcting the texts and to interpreting them, that is so that people who compare my commentary with previous ones will find that I have concentrated on the essential rather than on the superfluous.³⁰

The Preface has something in common with the modern back-cover blurb — it epitomizes the purpose and scope of the book, and establishes the credentials and intent of the author. Mancinelli proclaims his authority through his concentration on the essentials and through his unrelenting labour in constantly checking with previous commentators. His method is to correct and interpret the text, and his avowed intention is to make the text comprehensible, through scholarly means, to the non-scholar.

The work is dedicated to Orso Orsini, Bishop of Teano and Rector of the Sapienza, 'relying on your authority, your influence, your worthiness' ('auctoritate, potestate dignitateque fretus'). Although the dedication is couched in the overly florid conventions of the time, the individual and forthright voice of Mancinelli clearly emerges: as well as the generic qualities of clemency and wisdom, he singles out Orsini's kindness and his generosity in including Mancinelli 'among his restricted circle of intimates' ('qui nanque me numero paucorum ascripsit'). In addition to the dedication to Orsini, and a poem by Girolamo Maserio of Forlì, there is a poetic testimonial to the reader by Pomponio Leto, in which he recommends Mancinelli as 'one who expounds as often as he is able, with dexterity of tongue, mind and hand' ('Sic Mancinellus lingue cerebrique manusque | Exponit quotiens dexteritate valet'). In the course of his four years in Rome, Mancinelli became a familiar figure in three distinct but often overlapping humanist circles in Rome: the academic community based on the Sapienza, the curial establishment, and the Pomponian Academy.

which ends with the question which Mancinelli anticipated would be asked in relation to his edition: 'The student of great Homer required an Aristarchus | to re-read him and you, Virgil, to whom will you give thanks?' ('Voluit Aristarchum magni studiosus Homeri | Quem relegas & tu cui Maro gratias trades?').

³⁰ Vergilius cum quinque commentis: 'Nec ego eo consilio Commentarios edidi ut homines eruditos redarguam, quanquam aliud alio videtur, sed uti Vergilii Carmen & facilius & apertius habeatur. Eo enim studio, ea opera, vigilia, diligentia cura sum usus, tum corrigendis textibus, tum illis interpretandis, ut mea cum præcedentibus conferentes necessaria potius quam supervacanea fuisse animadvertant [...]'.

As Egmont Lee has pointed out, in the period during which Mancinelli was first attached to the *Studium Urbis*, it became 'the largest single employer of lay humanists in Rome', and papal Rome, as the heir of the Roman Empire and the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of Christendom, was the pre-eminent centre for humanist studies — it was the 'patria del latino'. Appointments to the Sapienza were still dependent on patronage, and even the most distinguished professors had other sources of income. Mancinelli's cultivation of patrons through his publications and by contacts made through teaching, both in the *Studium* and with private lessons outside, were part of this culture. Appointments were on a yearly basis and a young teacher needed to be ever attentive to any opportunities that might present themselves, and adaptive to relocation, both geographically and within the educational structure. Mancinelli's involvement in publishing, although still an adjunct to his teaching, had increased in importance and diversity over this period, thereby reinforcing his profile and enhancing his employment prospects.

When he left Rome in April 1491 to take up the post of grammar master at Fano³⁴ (followed eighteen months later by his relocation to Venice), Mancinelli's publishing activities effectively moved with him and, although he remained in Venice only until 1494, Rome ceased to be the primary outlet for his publications. In his autobiographical poem, *Vitæ sylva* (Roma, 1499), he baldly states that Pomponio Leto 'counselled' him to go to Venice,³⁵ but it is probable that the opportunity of being published in the most important publishing centre in Italy and in Europe was also a factor.³⁶ More particularly, since the mid-1470s, Venice had been the main centre for the publication of classical texts. During the first

³¹ Lee, 'Humanists and the *Studium urbis*', p. 129. Among the humanist professors teaching at the Sapienza during the 1480s were Pomponio Leto, Pietro Marsi, Martino Filetico, Giovanni Sulpizio, Giovanni Battista Pio, Maffeo Bonfini, and Andrea Brenta.

³² Campanelli and Pincelli, 'La lettura dei classici nello Studium Urbis', p. 95. I am grateful to Frances Muecke for this reference.

³³ Mancinelli's constant avowal that he was not interested in monetary rewards may well be a response to a popular criticism of the invention of printing that it bred authors concerned above all to make money and a name, thereby corrupting the disinterested objective of the dissemination of knowledge. See Richardson, 'The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy', p. 145.

 $^{^{34}\,}$ Mancinelli was here from 26 April 1491 to 26 September 1492.

³⁵ Mancinelli, *Vitæ Sylva*, l. 131, published in *Antonio Mancinelli*, ed. by Lazzari, p. 40: 'Pomponi hortatu Venetas deductus ad oras.'

³⁶ Gehl suggests that 'it was Leto's positive teaching experience and his favourable opinion of the Venetian press that influenced Mancinelli' (Gehl, 'Humanism for Sale', 3.09); he certainly worked with the same printers.

half of the 1490s, Venice produced 107 (compared with Rome's eighteen) of the total of 266 volumes for Europe, which is forty per cent of the total production;³⁷ it also produced ten editions with commentary, compared with one from Rome.³⁸ Venice had the advantage of being within easy reach of northern Europe which gave it ready access to both northern markets and also to the raw materials on which the industry depended. The intellectual milieu of Venice was very different from that of Rome, but no less lively. Just as humanist Rome was stamped with the heavy mark of curialism, so Venetian intellectual life was defined by the singular political and social formation of the Most Serene Republic.

Mancinelli does not appear to have had a position in either of the two schools which educated the city's youth.³⁹ Instead, he may have worked as a tutor giving private lessons to the sons of the rich,⁴⁰ and there is evidence that he also found employment as an editor in printing houses producing his own works. The Dedication to his edition of Herodotus explains his role in some detail:

Gregorio de Gregori, a truly upright man and devoted to the truth, who wanted the history to be faithfully printed, approached me and asked me to read through the whole work with special care. I did so and it was found to be corrupted and with omissions in very many places. So, collating it with another text, almost the whole of it was emended and all the most noteworthy things were indicated in the margins and an index was added to facilitate consultation, just as we are now doing with Strabo's *Geographia* and once did with Diodorus.⁴¹

- ³⁷ See Jones, *Printing the Classical Text*, p. 84. This would, however, change over the second half of the decade when Venice, for a variety of reasons, could not sustain the same rate of production, and for the first time the rest of Europe began to produce more than Italy combined: see Jones, *Printing the Classical Text*, p. 104. In the light of Martin Davies's highly critical review (Davies, review of Jones, *Printing the Classical Text*), Jones's figures need to be treated with caution.
- ³⁸ The first commentary to be included with a classical text was Domizio Calderini's commentary to Juvenal's *Satyræ*, published by Jacques Le Rouge in Venice on 24 April 1475 (Jones, *Printing the Classical Text*, p. 54). According to Jones, Beroaldo and Sabellico introduced a format of commentary which appears to have been closer to Mancinelli's, as it 'concentrated on the essential rather than on the superfluous' and concerned itself with both philology and interpretation (Jones, *Printing the Classical Text*, p. 103).
 - ³⁹ Mellidi, 'Antonio Mancinelli', p. 451.
- 40 As he had done in Rome, although the dedications of his Venetian publications, unlike those from the earlier Roman period, give no indication of this.
- ⁴¹ Herodotus, *Historiæ*: 'Gregorius de Gregoriis, vir sane probus verique studiosissimus, cupiens illam fideliter imprimi me adiit, me oravit <ut> opus omne perlegerem accuratius. Perlegi quidem: inventum est & depravatum & diminutum locis quam plurimis. Itaque altero

Mancinelli clearly needed the sort of employment that would have enabled him to apply much of his time and energy to preparing the six classical texts that would come out over the period of two years that he lived in Venice: Juvenal, Satyræ (2 December 1492); Lorenzo Valla, De elegantiæ latinæ linguæ; Lima in Vallam (8 February 1492/93); Horace, Horatius cum quattuor commentariis (28 February 1492/93); Cicero, Rhetorica ad Herennium; Rhetorica ad Herennium commentariolus (8 October 1493); Herodotus, Historiæ (8 March 1494); and Strabo, De situ orbis (23 April 1494).⁴²

Surprisingly, the dedications of these works, works which he would surely have seen as ensuring his place in posterity, are not to distinguished members of the humanist elite of Venice, suggesting that he never succeeded in assimilating into its intellectual milieu as he had in Rome, which remained his spiritual and intellectual home. A number of the works are dedicated to Nicola de' Rossi, the priest of the fashionable church of S. Geminiano in Piazza S. Marco and a canon of S. Marco itself. Mancinelli was apparently introduced to this 'Maecenas of our time' by a Mantuan priest called Ilario who seems almost to have been a casual contact, and it is evidently thanks to Don Nicola's welcome that any of his works was published. Again, in the Juvenal, the Herodotus, and the Lorenzo Valla, Rossi is singled out as the great benefactor. The Cicero is dedicated to the Venetian patrician Girolamo Omfredi Giustiniani, Apostolic Prothonotary, but hardly prominent in Venetian humanist circles.

The only other Venetian connexion that can be made is with the doyen of Venetian humanists, Ermolao Barbaro, whom Mancinelli would in any case have met not in Venice but in Rome. Mancinelli's funerary oration 'on the death of the most learned Metello Badio' ('In funere Metelli Badii viri doctissimi') is generally believed to be for Ermolao, who was exiled from Venice after he accepted the See of Aquileia in 1491 from Innocent VIII without Senate approval.⁴⁵ There is

exemplari collato emendata sunt fere omnia marginibusque signata quæcunque scitu dignissima, apposito etiam quo facilius inveniantur indice. Quod item in Strabonis *Geographia* nunc agimus & in Diodoro iam egimus'. There is no evidence that the Diodorus was ever printed.

⁴² The Valla is not strictly a classical text; and, in the last two works, Mancinelli's role was as editor. He had first taught courses on Juvenal, Horace, and the *Ad Herennium* in Rome in 1486–87: see Mellidi, 'Antonio Mancinelli', p. 450. Clearly, progress on some of these texts had already been made in either Rome or Fano before his arrival in Venice.

⁴³ Herodotus, *Historia*, Dedication to Nicola Rubeo.

 $^{^{44}}$ Giustiniani does not figure in the extensive coverage of Venetian humanists in King, Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance.

 $^{^{45}}$ The bulk of the oration quite clearly refers to Ermolao, but there is in addition a cast of

a strong sense that Ermolao was a powerful influence in Mancinelli's professional life, and Mancinelli was no doubt sincere when he described Ermolao as 'priest of the Muse' ('O Musæ, obiit ille sacerdos'), and 'as a Latinist who perhaps had no equal in our time' ('numquam fortassis eiusmodi latinæ linguæ cultorem nobis adesse contigerit'). His description of Ermolao's scholarly method says much about his own values, and presumably about his working procedures:

In that field Metellus was painstaking, highly skilled, and very learned: his mind was alert and clear sighted and hence he was well able to make obscure, ambiguous, and abstruse subjects clear, defined, and open. His emendation of numerous Latin codices and his Latin translation of Greek volumes show the supreme care and insight he applied.⁴⁶

The three great literary *autores* for whom Mancinelli provided commentaries — Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal — were at the very core of the humanist canon. They had a more general appeal than the handbooks of the school curricula, embracing as well those who had already passed through the humanist educational process, and, because Latin was the language of text and of commentary, they crossed national boundaries and took in the whole of civilized Europe. ⁴⁷ By the same token, because of the popular appeal of these classical authors, there was strong competition between printers and publishers to produce the best version, and for that they needed an accurate text, and a sympathetic and comprehensible guide who could unlock the mysteries of the text and clarify the meaning of the words. Mancinelli clearly fitted this bill. The first edition of Virgil in Venice had been published in 1470. There would be thirty more editions of the work published before 1490 when Mancinelli's Roman edition of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* was coupled with commentaries on the *Aeneid* and Appendices by Servius, Donatus, Cristoforo Landino, and Domizio Calderini, to provide a best-selling formula

unrelated and historically confused figures from antiquity. Given the status of Ermolao in Venice at his death and the fact that he died in Rome in 1493 (probably July) when Mancinelli was still in Venice, the oration was probably presented discreetly (if at all), to a group of 'distinguished fellow scholars'. According to Vittore Branca, 'è un elogio di Ermolao sotto tale fittizio nome': see Branca, 'L'umanesimo veneziano alla fine del Quattrocento', p. 141, n. 30.

⁴⁶ Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*, Decimus Sermonum Libellus, Tit. xxiii: 'Erat enim Metellus illius & curiosus & peritus & studiosissimus: ingenioque solerti & perspicaci. Qua propter res omnis obscuras, ambiguas & obstrusas facile claras, certas, apertas reddere potuisset. Quod plane eius summa diligentia & acumen ostedunt, quibus Latinæ linguæ codicibus plurimis emendandis Græcorumque voluminibus latine per eum traductis est usus.'

 47 This is not intended to imply, however, that the schools were not the *primary* market for these books too.

which would be reprinted ten times before the end of the decade, and another forty times up to 1557.⁴⁸ His commentary on Juvenal's *Satires*, published in Venice in 1492, appeared together with those of Domizio Calderini and Giorgio Valla; by 1541, twenty-one editions would have been published. The Horace, where Mancinelli was in the company of Acron, Porphyrius, and Cristoforo Landino, was first published in 1493; up to 1500 it went through seven editions, and a further forty-one before 1594.

In 1494, after this period of great productivity in Venice, Mancinelli once again returned to Velletri to take up his role of communal schoolmaster. During the three years that followed, he presumably used the relative calm of provincial life to work on future projects, but no new publications have survived from this time. In Orvieto at the end of the century we know that he was working on his guide to the upbringing of children, and during the summer months he was continuing his practice of studying manuscripts in Rome for teaching and scholarly purposes — at that time he was working on the *Aeneid*, Valerius, Martial, Solinus, Persius, 'and the like'. His term at Orvieto and his subsequent appointment to the Sapienza coincide with a renewed concentration on publishing and a new range of material.⁵⁰ Perhaps the most striking aspect of this last Roman period is the prestigious spread of dedicatees (in marked contrast to those of his Venetian sojourn in the early 1490s): Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; Adriano Castellesi, the Cardinal S. Crisogono; Giovanni Battista Almadiani, Apostolic Prothonotary and Secretary to Cardinal Oliviero Carafa; Gabriele Gabrielli, Secretary and Auditor to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere; and Angelo Colocci, Apostolic Secretary and successor to Pomponio as host of the Roman Academy.

The interrelationships between the writer and the producer of the written record, and between both and the consumer, were transformed with the introduction and rapid development of printing. For humanist studies, the availability of relatively cheap, quickly produced, theoretically authoritative, essentially identical, multiple copies of a text distributed quickly throughout the

 $^{^{\}rm 48}$ Sometimes additional commentators were added, but rarely would any of the quinquevirate be dropped.

⁴⁹ Orvieto, 5 May 1500: Letter from Mancinelli to the Senate and People of Foligno, published in Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*, Tit. xxi: '*Aeneida*, Valerium Maximum, Martialem, Solinum, Persium & huiusmodi.'

⁵⁰ These include his Latini sermonis emporium (Roma, 1499); Speculum de moribus et officiis (Roma, 1499); Vita sylva (Roma, 1499); Æpolion æglogarum III (Roma, 1504); De parentum cura in liberos, De filiorum erga parentes obedientia honore & pietate (Roma, 1503); Primus epigrammaton libellus (Roma, 1503); and Sermonum decas (Roma, 1503).

educated European world concentrated the primacy of the word and opened up a new dimension of influence. As we have seen, Mancinelli sought to emulate the philological principles and practices exemplified by Ermolao Barbaro.⁵¹ In his Dedication to Pomponio, Mancinelli praises Horace above all lyrical poets because, as well as giving pleasure and information about myths, history, and places, his poems 'also contain that part of philosophy that teaches about life and morality'.⁵² But Mancinelli's studies were always driven, and perhaps limited, by his pedagogical aims.

* * *

In February 1498 the Commune of Orvieto keenly sought Mancinelli's services to perform the duties of communal schoolmaster to the youth of the city. Orvieto was no Rome or Venice, but a small, impecunious city-state within the Patrimony of St Peter *in Tuscia*. Why was Orvieto so keen to engage this distinguished pedagogue? Why was Mancinelli, then at the peak of his career, apparently happy to take on what was, by any measure, a modest position? The initial contract tells some of the story: 'Esteemed student of the Muses', it begins, 'when our General Council was considering the appointment of a teacher of literature, our thoughts went to your prudence and to your knowledge. Such was our confidence that you embodied those qualities that we deemed you suitable to our service.'53 On his part, Mancinelli accepted the terms 'not induced by the salary as much as the reciprocal benevolence between the city of Orvieto and myself'.54

The Commune of Orvieto was evidently determined to reinvigorate the position of schoolmaster within the city's cultural life. Perhaps the change in nomenclature is indicative of this shift — for the first time the records talk of a teacher of literature.⁵⁵ The previous schoolmaster, Giovanni Angelo Taddei, a victim of

⁵¹ For Ermolao and the supremacy of the word, see Branca, 'Ermolao Barbaro and Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism'.

⁵² Mancinelli, *Horatius cum quattuor commetariis*: 'Continent etiam philosophiæ partem illam de vita & moribus edocentem.'

⁵³ Orvieto, Arch. di Stato, *Riformanze*: 1498, 10 March, c. 175^r: 'Clarissime musarum alumne et amice carissime, salutem. Cum in nostro generali concilio de magistri studii licterarii electione ageretur, direximus animum ad prudentiam et doctrinam vestram, similiter quod de ea confisi ut talis erit ac taliter se ad nostra servitia conduci.'

⁵⁴ Velletri, 4 May 1498: Mancinelli to Conservators: *Responsio electi præceptoris*, published in Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*, Tit. xviij: 'non tantum medius fidius stipendio ductus quantum summa in me Orvietinæ civitatis inclytæ meaque in illam benivolentia.'

⁵⁵ According to Robert Black this was not uncommon at the time (personal communication).

the 1497 plague, had been described as 'master of grammar', and had received an annual salary of fifty florins. In contrast, Mancinelli is described as 'interpreter of the Muses' and is immediately offered 150 florins. His flat refusal to pay for an assistant out of his own salary or to present a silver bowl to the Conservators, as stipulated in the first offer of employment, was immediately accepted by the Commune 'on the basis of the knowledge and the good name of Mancinelli'; in addition, he was given an assistant with the salary of forty-five florins. ⁵⁶ The negotiations reveal on the one hand a self-confident, well-established professional displaying an easy balance between a disinterested commitment to education and a worldly understanding of his own worth; on the other hand, the Conservators, having reassessed the schoolmaster's role in the life of the city, were prepared to accommodate the demands of someone whose reputation ideally fitted him for that newly-defined role.

In his final letter of acceptance, dated 4 May 1498, Mancinelli made it clear that he would arrive in his own good time, but that 'Summer and winter I will not cease to work for the progress of my students'. A month later, on 10 June, he began teaching with lectures on Suetonius and the *Ad Herennium*. A year later, the Conservators unanimously agreed to reappoint him. The new contract, for the first time, contains an extended exordium, in both form and resonance a handsome affirmation of the efficacy of Mancinelli's teaching and influence:

Greetings and best wishes to you, Antonio Mancinelli of Velletri, distinguished interpreter of the Muses. Nothing is more loveable than virtue and nothing makes humans love more [...]. And knowing your knowledge and your concern for right behaviour and your commitment to and your involvement with literature we saw that our students made great progress and we cannot fail to feel enormous benevolence towards you [...]. We have decided in our General Council to reappoint you [...] as teacher of grammar, poetics, and oratory in our city for another year.⁵⁸

Mancinelli replied in kind, though it was a style that he knew only too well:

⁵⁶ Orvieto, Arch. di Stato, *Riformanze*: 1498, 13 May, cc. 188^r–188^v.

⁵⁷ See above, n. 54: 'Cum & æstu & hyeme uno eodemque modo pro discipulorum profectu laborare non desinam.'

Orvieto, Arch. di Stato, *Riformanze*: 1499, 9 May, c. 341^r: 'Vobis Clarissimo Poete Musarum interpreti Antonio Mancinello veliterno, salutem et felices ad vota successus. Cum nihil sit amabilius virtutum nihilque quod magis alliciat homines ad diligendum [...] cognoscentesque pro doctrina tua, et cura honestatis, et studio, et diligentia licterarum pueros nostros multum proficere negare non possumus quia te summa benivolentia prosequamur [...]. Decrevimus in nostro generale concilio te refirmare, [...] et denuo eligimus magistrum grammatices, poetices et oratorie civitatis nostre per unum annum proxime futurum incipiendum [...].'

It is Plato's opinion that particular care should be taken of the young so that they turn into the best possible men. There is nothing more serious that should concern human beings than their own knowledge and that of their families. There is nothing to which a provident man should give greater importance than to make his son and associate into a good man and, under the guidance of knowledge, his affairs proceed rightly and well. It is the task of knowledge, and not of wealth, to make decisions [...]. It was an excellent custom of your forefathers that in this illustrious city there should constantly have been publicly paid teachers of science and virtue. As your supreme wisdom drew me, albeit the least of the learned, last year, and also this year, with the addition of a fee.⁵⁹

Although couched in frankly rhetorical terms the interplay between the two contracting parties in the renewal of the second contract reveals a common purpose: virtue through knowledge provides the foundation on which civic society is based, and education itself is the key process in its fulfilment.

Mancinelli understood the dynamics of a city like Orvieto — it was similar in the most significant ways to his own *patria* where his father had been a prominent citizen and an active participant in its governance. He never lost touch with Velletri, and throughout his working life he spent extended periods there during which he took part in both the civil and ecclesiastical functions of the city's calendar. Many of the public addresses delivered on these occasions are reproduced in his *Sermonum decas*, which is in fact ten collections of addresses on discrete themes. Book I contains the most diverse selection, including the following addresses: On the vices and virtues in Juvenal; On poetry; On history; On country life; On the *Somnium Scipionis*; On the *De amicitia*; On why Augustus sent Ovid into exile.

Book III reproduces addresses he made on the swearing in of public officials. This is part of one of these:

Magnificent Rectors, who today will enter your magistracy, to preserve all those things that are contained in the institutions, customs and laws of this glorious city. You have taken an oath [...] in which a promise is made with, as it were, God as

⁵⁹ Orvieto, May 1499: Mancinelli to Conservators: *Electi præceptoris responsum*. Tit. xix, published in Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*: 'Platonis sententia est in primis iuvenum curam suscipiendam, ut quam optimi viri fiant, nec esse divinius aliquid, de quo homines consulere queant, quam de sui & suorum eruditione. Itaque nulli rei maiorem diligentiam adhibere debeat providus quam ut filium & socium optimum reddat quod scientia duce negotia & recte & bene procedunt. Scientisque officium est, non divitis, de unoquoque consulere [...]. Iure optimo instituere maiores ut tum scientiæ, tum virtutis hac urbe insigni stipendio publico præceptores iugiter haberentur. Quod quidem vestra item summa prudentia exequi volens me, licet eruditorum minimum, anno superiori electum præsenti quoque adiecta etiam stipe irretivit.'

witness — wholeheartedly take up your responsibility to the state. There is nothing which can be of greater utility and glory. Nor is there anything in human affairs that is nobler or greater than to give service to the republic.⁶⁰

During the two years Mancinelli was an official of the Commune of Orvieto, a time when the Commune was seriously tackling the traditional enemies of the social fabric — pride, envy, greed, and lust — with the introduction of sumptuary and other moral laws, it is easy to imagine that he would have been lecturing on the public good. As the city's leading humanist, he would certainly have delivered funeral orations on the death of the city's leading citizens.⁶¹ The tenth book is devoted to funerary eulogies which are set out according to the age and condition of the deceased: a youth, a widow, a newlywed, a bachelor, a bishop, a teacher, a lord, a lady, and so on. Predictably, these orations are studded with classical allusions and replete with praise of the deceased's humility, generosity, friendship, tolerance, wisdom, and magnificence, all in the best tradition of the antique models. Mancinelli declares that in his addresses he has 'generally adhered to the three principles of the orator, [that] the person being addressed must be instructed, delighted, and moved'.⁶² He singles out the eulogies as 'showing how to live', following the advice of Plato's Socrates that a funeral speech should 'appropriately praise the dead, give helpful advice to the living, and urge the sons and brothers to imitate the virtue of the deceased.'63

Mancinelli is unabashed about the cut-and-paste potential of his addresses for the reader, and he has no illusions about the limited nature of the enterprise: 'Let the learned seek out the lucubrations of the learned. This little meadow, this far-

⁶⁰ Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*: 'Itaque, Rectores magnifici hodie magistratum inituri, vos hortor ad ea servanda, & illa cuncta quæ institutis, moribus & legibus huius inclytæ civitatis continentur [...] Adhibitoque iureiurando ([...]deo teste promittitur: id tenendum est) tota mente reipublice onus suscipite. Nihil enim est: quod vobis maioris fructus gloriæque esse possit: Nec quicquid ex omnibus rebus humanis est præclarius aut prestantius quam de republica bene mereri.'

⁶¹ For funerary orations, see McManamon, Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism.

⁶² Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*: 'In omni autem sermone [...] fere illa tria potissima oratoris servavi. Tria nanque sunt efficienda dicendo, ut doceatur is, apud quem dicetur, ut delectetur, ut moveatur'; see Cicero, *Orator*, 69; Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.12. 27 (74). For the three related goals of the oratorical preface, see *De inventione*, I.15.20, and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.4.6 (my thanks to John Ward for these references).

⁶³ Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*: 'Ubi etiam quod Platonicus Socrates admonet maxima parte servavi, hoc est ut funebris oratio defunctos satis laudet, superstites benigne moneat, eorum filios ac fratres ad virtutis ipsorum imitationem hortetur'.

rago, provides food for the hungry, not for the satiated.'64 He was not universally praised by his humanist colleagues, partly because his writings were aimed at a less elevated market, partly perhaps because they were jealous of his success.

* * *

Why was Mancinelli so effective as a writer, among the first best-selling educational authors? First, he was a practitioner in the educational sector for which he was writing — he had first-hand knowledge of the students' capacities, their objectives, and their limitations; he understood his market. Without compromising himself or his discipline, he made sure that where possible, the rules were simplified and the concepts made clear. For example, he believed that the vernacular could be used in instruction, although he only did so rarely in his books. Secondly, he was passionate about the importance of education in general and had a very clear notion of his own capacity and responsibility in moulding the minds and morals of the young. Thirdly, he was unswerving and unrelenting in his commitment to classical studies. His tireless energy in expanding his own knowledge was no doubt a driving force in his desire to enlighten others. Fourthly, a strong moral sense and a belief in the importance of civil society inspired by classical models encouraged him to put what one writer has called his 'vero arsenale di erudizione' at the service of the public good. There can be no doubt that the purpose of a humanist education, in the understanding of both Mancinelli and his communal employers, was to teach the language and forms of civil society and to inculcate a moral foundation that would enable them to be properly used; both sought to produce a literate, skilled, and virtuous class that would ensure the proper running of the economy and the polity of the city. Finally, Mancinelli's life coincided with the early years of printing whose revolutionary technology opened up the possibility of the mass production and distribution of books, the tools of learning, and, no doubt, gave him a vision of a time when knowledge, not wealth, would truly form the basis for the ordering of the affairs of mankind.

⁶⁴ Mancinelli, *Sermonum decas*: 'Docti doctorum hominum vigilias quærant. Esurientibus pratulum hoc, farrago hæc virent, non saturis.' The inspiration for these 'sample' addresses reconfirms the practical nature of Mancinelli's teaching and his rapport with his pupils: he was 'frequently approached by young men asking me to compose suitable speeches on various themes' ('uti, me adeuntibus atque orantibus adolescentibus, orationes aliquas de re illis tunc oportuna ipse componerem').

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VIRGIL IN THE RENAISSANCE CLASSROOM: FROM TOSCANELLA'S OSSERVATIONI [...] SOPRA L'OPERE DI VIRGILIO TO THE EXERCITATIONES RHETORICAE

Craig Kallendorf

o see how the classics were treated in the Renaissance classroom, I would like to begin with the Osservationi d'Oratio Toscanella della famiglia di Maestro Luca Fiorentino, sopra l'opere di Virgilio, per discoprire, e insegnare à porre in prattica gli artifici importantissimi dell'arte poetica con gli essempi di Virgilio stesso (Observations of Orazio Toscanella, of the family of Master Luca the Florentine, on the works of Virgil, to discover and teach the placing in practice of the most important artifices of the art of poetry with examples from Virgil himself). The title suggests that this book was designed as a teaching aid.

Basic background research confirms this suggestion, for the author¹ devoted his life to teaching the classics in the Veneto. He was probably born around 1520, and in his mid-thirties was teaching in Castelbaldo, a small village not far from Padua, moving from there to nearby Lendinara, then to Venice around 1566. His primary job was teaching, but he supplemented his income by working as a *poligrafo*, someone who wrote, translated, and edited for the Venetian press. As we might expect, he specialized in pedagogical works, publishing an average of two

¹ Toscanella has begun to attract a fair amount of scholarly attention. Following Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari*, 11, 220–25, modern treatments of Toscanella's life and works include Quondam, 'Dal "formulario" al "formulario", pp. 71–80; Artese, 'Orazio Toscanella: un maestro del XVI secolo'; Artese, 'Orazio Toscanella: corrispondenza'; Bolzoni, 'Le "parole depinte" di Orazio Toscanella'; Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, esp. pp. 52–82; Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*; and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 223–29. My thanks to Manfred Kraus for bibliographical assistance here.

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books a year for the last twenty years of his life. His principal subject was rhetoric (five of these books were devoted to Cicero, and he also translated Quintilian and Rudolf Agricola), but he published two elementary grammar books, two books on other parts of the school curriculum, a dictionary, and a treatise on metrics as well. Toscanella achieved a modest amount of recognition in his lifetime, but financial success eluded him. He died in 1579.

Why Toscanella wrote the books he did becomes clear once we look at the curriculum of the Venetian schools during the time when Toscanella lived and worked there. After the student had learned to read and mastered basic Latin grammar, he turned to works on rhetoric, poetry, and history written primarily, but not exclusively, by authors from antiquity.² When we look at the educational treatises of the day, we are struck initially by how extensive the recommended reading lists are. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II), for example, recommends Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Ovid, Claudian, Apollonius of Rhodes, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Plautus, Terence, and Seneca among the poets; Cicero, Ambrose, Augustine, Lactantius, Gregory, and several of his contemporaries among the orators; and Livy, Sallust, Justin, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, Valerius Maximus, selected books of the Old Testament, and the Acts of the Apostles for history.³ This looks like a reading list for a doctoral examination in the classics today, but as a number of scholars have pointed out, the surviving evidence suggests that there was a substantial gap between theory and practice in humanist education.4

This becomes clear when we look at precisely what was done in Venetian classrooms in the last half of the sixteenth century. In 1567 the Venetian Senate ordered the humanists who were teaching in the publicly supported *sestiere* schools to teach Cicero in the morning, then Virgil, Terence, or Horace in the afternoon. In 1578 the Senate issued another set of instructions, this time mandating Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares* in the morning and Terence, or a similar

² Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy, pp. 111–271.

³ Piccolomini, 'De liberorum educatione'. A similar list, with slightly different content, may be found in Guarinus, 'De ordine docendi et studendi'.

⁴ Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, trans. by Howe, notes that in practice instruction was often limited to a handful of authors and that students often received extracts rather than complete works, so that '[w]hile a small elite may have been successful, even brilliantly so, the mass seems to have dragged itself painfully along, eventually arriving after huge effort at a depressingly mediocre level' (p. 132). On the role of the classics in Renaissance education, see also Black, *Humanism and Education*; Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain*; and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*.

text, in the afternoon. In theory these instructions applied only to the teachers in the prestigious, publicly supported humanist schools. We might suspect that the many private masters would take their cue from these teachers, and Paul F. Grendler has found an important piece of evidence that, in fact, they did. Concern that there might be some Protestants teaching in Venice provoked the government to order all the masters teaching there to profess their faith. Precisely 258 of them did, indicating at the same time which authors they were teaching. Of the 258, 162 were teaching Cicero, ninety-four Virgil, forty-six Terence, and thirty-six Horace; a handful of other authors appear on the list, but none of them ever reaches five per cent of the total.⁵

In other words, Toscanella's *Osservationi* were born in the Venetian classroom and reflect how the second most popular school text of the day was taught by one of the more important educators of Renaissance Italy. My goal in this chapter is first to isolate and describe the pedagogical practice reflected in the *Osservationi* and several other related early printed books, and then to consider whether that practice seems to confirm or challenge some of the general conclusions that have been reached recently about how the classics were actually taught in the Renaissance classroom.

* * *

Toscanella's treatise, *Osservationi*, was initially published in 1566, but was reprinted the following year by an important Venetian printer, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari. The rapid reprinting suggests that the book had proved useful and that Giolito believed the market would justify a second printing of several hundred more copies. For a modern reader, it is difficult, at least initially, to see why. The book begins with a dedication to one Lorenzo Galupo, a noted Venetian physician. In this dedication, before launching into the fulsome flattery that the genre requires, Toscanella explains why he has written the book. Drawing on a topos that was common in early modern literary theory, Toscanella observes

⁵ Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 204–06. Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, trans. by Howe, pp. 33–34, stresses the high degree of curricular uniformity in humanistic schools throughout Europe; Venetian practice, in fact, was indistinguishable from what was going on in France and Germany.

⁶ According to 'EDIT16: Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del xvI secolo', the reprint is rarer than the *editio princeps* (nine copies of the former, CNCE 26510, can be found in the Italian libraries that have so far reported their holdings, versus nineteen copies of the latter, CNCE 26553), but it appears that the only difference between the two editions is in the number of pages of front matter. References are to my copy of the 1567 edition and will be placed in the text. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

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that poetry is divinely inspired and contains within it the wisdom of the world.⁷ Homer and Virgil, he writes,

teach how to build, preserve, and order cities. They teach the customs appropriate to each age of life, because they are the best observers of what is seemly for each person. They write of the laws, tools, and instruments of war, and of the parts of the world, of the stars, and of all other matters and disciplines.⁸

Beginning, then, with the premise that everything one might want to know can be found in Virgil, Toscanella wrote his *Osservationi* to assist in finding it. The book is organized alphabetically, under headings like 'ammonitio' (rebuke) and 'amore' (love), 'natione' (nation) and 'natura delle cose' (nature of things), 'amplificatione' (amplification) and 'comparatione' (comparison).

Let me use the first two of these headings to show what Toscanella is doing. 'Ammonitione' ('rebuke' or 'warning') is limited to one example: how to rebuke a young man who has done something good but also made a mistake. Toscanella instructs his reader first to praise the young man for the good he has done, because praising virtue makes it grow and because praise makes one more disposed to accept correction. Doing it the other way around (that is, beginning with the rebuke) hardens the heart and alienates it from the good, or at least makes the heart grow cold, he explains. Then comes the example, from *Aeneid*, IX, where Apollo warns Ascanius not to put himself at such great risk in battle. First comes the praise:

Grow

in your new courage, child; o son of gods and ancestor of gods, this is the way to scale the stars. All fated, future wars shall end in peace beneath Assaracus' house; for the walls of Troy cannot contain you.

⁷ Buck, *Italienische Dichtungslehren vom Mittelalter*, p. 72; Kallendorf, 'From Virgil to Vida'; Witt, 'Coluccio Salutati and the Conception of the *Poeta Theologus*', pp. 539–42.

⁸ 'insegnano il modo di edificar le città, et di conservarle, et di reggerle. Insegnano i costumi convenienti à ciascuna età; perche ottimamente il decoro di ciascuna persona osservano. Cantano delle leggi, delle fabriche, de gli instrumenti da guerra, delle parti del mondo, delle stelle; et di tutte l'altre cose, et scienze' (fol. *iii').

⁹ 'Macte nova virtute puer, sic itur ad astra, | dis genite et geniture deos. iure omnia bella | gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident, | nec te Troia capit' (*Aeneid*, 1x.641–44). References to Virgil's poetry are to Virgil, *Opera*, ed. by Mynors; translations are from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by Mandelbaum.

Then comes the rebuke: 'but after this, my boy, enough of war'. 10

The second example, 'amore' (love), shows how the longer entries work. Toscanella divides the topic into three subdivisions: how to get a person to love someone new, how to express the force of love, and how to show passionate love. For an example of passionate love, we might have expected Dido, but this seems to have struck Toscanella as too risky: instead we find Vulcan, sweet-talking Venus as he leaves her bed in the middle of the night to start working on Aeneas's armour in Book VIII. What examples did Virgil use to express the force of love, the force that makes us spurn life itself? Again we might expect Dido, but again we do not get what we expect. Instead Toscanella gives us Aeneas, turning back to the burning city of Troy in pursuit of his lost wife Creusa, then Nisus, going to a certain death even though his lover Euryalus has already been killed — apparently the homoerotic undertones to this scene were considered less risky than dealing with Dido in a roomful of adolescents¹¹ — and finally Coroebus, the Trojan in Book II who hurled himself into his enemies out of his love for Cassandra. Finally let us look briefly at the first subdivision, how to get a person to love someone or something new. Toscanella divides the first subdivision again, showing how Virgil made this happen through appeals to natural instinct, oracles, genealogy, reputation, or astrology (Toscanella, Osservationi, pp. 17-19). At first glance the procedure seems scholastic, and given that Toscanella lived and worked in Venice, whose humanism maintained a stronger Aristotelian flavour than some of the other Italian varieties, this may well be right. But Ciceronian rhetoric, which Toscanella also taught and wrote about, leads in the same direction.¹²

¹⁰ 'cetera parce, puer, bello', *Aeneid*, IX.656; Toscanella, *Osservationi*, pp. 16–17. Praise and blame, the key elements of epideictic rhetoric, are especially important in epic, since epic and epideictic were thoroughly intertwined from antiquity through the Renaissance. On the Renaissance in general, see Hardison, *The Enduring Monument*; Vickers, 'Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance'; on Virgil in particular, see Kallendorf, *In Priase of Aeneas*.

¹¹ It is worth noting that the homoerotic overtones in this scene were potentially threatening, given the intimate relationship between master and pupil. The authorities in the Veneto, for example, were concerned that homosexual advances were often made to young boys in school settings, so that in 1477 a law directed that all instruction had to take place in groups gathered in public halls, not individually in private rooms; see Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros*, p. 138. The intimacy between master and pupil was especially vulnerable to accusations of sodomy when education took place as private tutoring in a nobleman's household; see Stewart, *Close Readers*. Dido's treatment in the Renaissance classroom needs further research. Marjorie Curry Woods has noted a good many examples of medieval and Renaissance schoolmasters who were willing to deal directly with Dido: see Woods, 'Boys Will Be Women'; and Woods, 'The Classroom as Courtroom'.

¹² On Toscanella's teaching of Cicero, see Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 223–29.

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But who would buy a book like the *Osservationi*? Why would anyone break a great epic poem into shards of banal aphorisms and stylistic examples? It did sell — the second printing came out only a year after the first — but why? The answer leads us towards the differences between the reading practices of the sixteenth and the twenty-first centuries¹³ — one area in which early modern practices are more 'early' than 'modern' — and to a better understanding in turn of what Renaissance schoolmasters and their students were reading for.

An edition of the works of Virgil that was published in Frankfurt in 1616, exactly fifty years after the first edition of Toscanella's Osservationi, records evidence of precisely the same reading practices, in the marginal annotations of one Rector Hesse, a German schoolmaster. 14 Herr Hesse marked parallel passages from a variety of ancient authors, some common like Seneca and Cicero, but others less so, like Diodorus Siculus, Tibullus, Catullus, and Lucretius. He also provided variant readings and cross-references to other Virgilian commentators, from Servius to Joseph Scaliger to Thomas Farnaby. But what interests us is his habit of underlining passages he wanted to be able to find again. In some cases his comments have a decidedly moral cast. Two underlined passages in Book II, which recounts the fall of Troy, provide advice on what to do in hopeless situations: 'the lost have only | this one deliverance: to hope for none' ('una salus victis nullam sperare salutem'; Aeneid, 11.354), and 'at times | new courage comes to beaten hearts' ('quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus'; Aeneid, 11.367). Another passage reminds the reader of what the reward for virtue should be: 'may you find your fitting thanks | and proper payment from the gods' ('persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant | debita'; Aeneid, 11.537-38). And there is the lesson to be drawn from seeing the Great Sinners in the underworld — 'be warned, learn justice, do not scorn the gods' ('discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos'; Aeneid, VI.620) — signalled in the margin with an 'NB' (nota bene, 'note well'). Other passages, however, are obviously underlined because they are phrased in a memorable way. Aeneid, 11.255, 'beneath | the friendly silence of the tranquil moon' ('tacitae per amica silentia lunae'), carries the marginal reminder

¹³ It has become increasingly clear in recent years that reading indeed has a history. A good general orientation may be found in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Cavallo and Chartier. On the Renaissance in particular, see the essays collected in *The Reader Revealed*, ed. by Baron; Grafton, 'The Humanist as Reader'; and Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*.

¹⁴ Virgil, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Johannes à Meyen. This edition is surprisingly rare, with the copies at the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France being the only ones in institutional hands. I have not been able to identify Rector Hesse, whose comments appear in the margins of my copy of the text, as referenced in this paragraph.

'Nox quieta' ('a peaceful night'), and the marginal note 'Simile de subito pavore' ('simile concerning sudden fear') appears next to the comparison in *Aeneid*, II.379–82. The passages underlined in Hesse's Virgil, in other words, illustrate moral topics (what to do in hopeless situations) or stylistic flourishes (a memorable simile), often with marginal annotations that serve as 'indexing notes' to allow the reader to find them again and remember what they illustrate.¹⁵

Sometimes these marginal annotations themselves were published. As an example, let us turn to another early edition of the works of Virgil, published in 1534 by the Lyonnaise printer Sebastian Gryphius. Gryphius's edition contains the marginal scholia of Philip Melanchthon, the *praeceptor Germaniae* whose work as Germany's teacher' extended to Rome's greatest epic poet. At the beginning of Book IV, Melanchthon notes that 'there is more elegance than learning in this book' ([i]n hoc libro plus est elegantiae, quam eruditionis'), alluding to the two main areas in which annotation was required. Melanchthon therefore draws attention to passages that are worth noting for style: at lines 151–55 he writes '[d]escriptio venationis' (p. 197), and at lines 522–28 he writes '[d]escriptio temporis' and '[n]ox silens' (p. 210), indicating that the descriptions of hunting and of the time and stillness of night, respectively, were worth remembering. He is more interested in content, however. Like Toscanella, whose

¹⁵ On marginalia in general, see *Libri a stampa postillati*, ed. by Barbieri and Frasso; and Jackson, *Marginalia*. For an exemplary study of how marginalia left by a Renaissance reader can provide insight into the life and works of that reader, see *Montaigne's Annotated Copy of Lucretius*, ed. by Screech.

¹⁶ Virgil, *Opera, Philippi Melanchthonis illustrata scholiis*. The references in the following paragraph, which will appear in the text, are to my copy of the 1534 edition. This edition is unattested in secondary literature and is apparently unique, predating by a decade the first of a series of reprintings by Gryphius extending through 1560; see for instance Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni vergiliane*, p. 69, no. 194.

¹⁷ Orientation to the voluminous scholarship on Melanchthon may be found in Schieble, 'Philippus Melanchthon', updated by Meerhoff, 'Philippe Melanchthon'. The copy of Virgil, *Opera*, ed. by Estienne, in the Princeton University Library (Princeton, Univ. Libr, MS VRG 2945 1532q) was once thought to contain Melanchthon's annotations in the first three books of the *Aeneid*. The book was sold in 1835 as part of the collection of Dr G. F. B. Kloss of Frankfurt (Kloss sale, Sotheby, 26 May 1835, p. 284, lot no. 3977), with the Melanchthon connection apparently put forth by Samuel Leigh Sotheby himself in the auction catalogue and defended in his *Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes, and Memoranda*, ed. by Sotheby; copies of both items are in the New York Public Library. Dr Kloss, however, objected to this attribution in a brief article in *Serapeum* (Kloss, 'Über Melanchthons angebliche Handschriften'); Kloss appears to have been correct, since several other items from the 1835 sale have since been re-examined and found to contain annotations in several different hands.

rhetorical works drew from the teaching of Melanchthon, Agricola, and Jakob Sturm, ¹⁸ Melanchthon observes that 'for he graphically depicts the force of love in the person of Dido, and the explanation for various emotions is taught in this book' ('[v]im enim amoris in persona Didonis graphice depingit, et ratio variorum affectuum in hoc libro docetur' (p. 192)). And again like Toscanella, some of Melanchthon's comments are simple moralizing: next to *Aeneid*, IV.86–89, which describes how the work on the defences of Carthage is suspended when Dido falls in love with Aeneas, Melanchthon writes, 'love renders people negligent' ('[n]egligentes reddit amor' (p. 195)). But Melanchthon also taught rhetoric, and he was particularly interested in how Virgil's argumentation worked. The opening lines of Anna's speech to Dido at the beginning of Book IV show how his notes draw attention to the rhetorical aspects of what Virgil is saying:

And Anna answers: 'Sister, you more dear to me than light itself, are you to lose all of your youth in dreary loneliness, and never know sweet children or the soft rewards of Venus? Do you think that ashes or buried Shades will care about such matters? Until Aeneas came, there was no suitor who moved your sad heart — not in Libya nor, before, in Tyre: you always scorned Iarbas and all the other chiefs that Africa, a region rich in triumphs, had to offer. How can you struggle now against a love that is so acceptable? Have you forgotten the land you settled, those who hem you in?'19

Next to line 31, Melanchthon writes '[p]eroratio', indicating that this is the introduction (normally the conclusion) to the speech. The marginal note next to the following line is '[o]biurgatio vice propositionis', indicating that this is a complaint in place of a proposition, which follows up Melanchthon's opening

¹⁸ On the reception of Melanchthon's work in the Italian Renaissance, see Rhein, 'Appunti sul rapporto fra Filippo Melanchthon e l'Umanesimo italiano'; on Toscanella's use of Melanchthon and other northern humanists in his rhetorical work, see Artese, 'Orazio Toscanella: un maestro del xvI secolo', pp. 80–95.

^{19 &#}x27;Anna refert: "o luce magis dilecta sorori, | solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa? | nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris? | id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos? | esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti, | non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas | ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis | dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori? | nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?" (Aeneid, IV.31–39).

observation that Book IV is about emotions. When Anna asks Dido whether she thinks that the shades care about matters like this (line 34), Melanchthon writes that this argument rests in one of the rhetorical commonplaces, the '[c]onfutatio ab inutili' ('refutation from the lack of utility'). The last argument, that Dido should think of whose land she is in (line 39), is derived from another rhetorical commonplace, '[a] necessario' ('from what is necessary' (p. 193)).

Where this went in the classroom becomes clear when we examine a supplement that sometimes appeared along with the often-reprinted Delphin commentary of Carolus Ruaeus. This *Exercitationes rhetoricae in praecipuas ejus orationes* (Rhetorical exercises on its principal speeches),²⁰ as the title suggests, offers rhetorical analyses of the main speeches from the *Aeneid*. The first of the speeches in Book IV to be considered in the *Exercitationes rhetoricae*, for example, is the one in which Dido tells Anna of her new passion for Aeneas (Il. 9–29). The analysis begins with the identification of which passion is involved (love), which rhetorical commonplaces the arguments are derived from (from effects and from contraries), and which parts the speech can be divided into (introduction, narration, and conclusion). Then comes the detailed analysis. In lines 9–11, the introduction, Dido praises Aeneas in order to make her sister positively disposed to him. In lines 12–14, Dido proves that Aeneas is of divine origin by arguing from effects:

Brave men have their origin from the gods. But Aeneas always comported himself bravely in so many wars and dangers. Therefore in truth he has his origin from the gods.²¹

The beginning of line 13, '[f] or in the face of fear | the mean must fall' ('degeneres animos timor arguit'), is the argument from contraries, and the end of line 13 and the beginning of line 14, 'What fates have driven him' ('heu, quibus ille | iactatus

²⁰ The commentary of Ruaeus (Charles de la Rue), *Opera cum notis Caroli Ruaei*, written as part of a series prepared for the crown prince of France, was first published in 1675 and was still being reprinted in the middle of the nineteenth century (see Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni vergiliane*). The publishing history of the *Exercitationes rhetoricae*, like many other parts of the Virgilian tradition, still needs to be worked out. Two different editions appeared in 1760, one published in Trnava, Slovakia, at the Jesuit academy, and the other in Munich and Ingolstadt by J. F. X. Crätz; the citations that follow are to my copy of the former edition and will appear in the text. The *Exercitationes rhetoricae* was popular in Jesuit schools and reflects an educational practice that retained many of its key features from the formulation of the *Ratio studiorum* in 1599 until the Jesuits ran into trouble with the civil authorities in several countries shortly after the 1760 editions were published; see Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System*.

²¹ 'Viri fortes a Diis habent originem; | Sed Aeneas in tot bellis, ac periculis se fortiter semper gessit; | Ergo revera a Diis habet originem.'

fatis!'), is an example of assumptio, the introduction of an extraneous point necessary for understanding an issue (*De inventione*, II.24.71; Ad Herennium, I.14.24). The narration, in which Dido explains that only Aeneas has made her rethink her determination not to remarry, is in lines 15–23, and the conclusion, in which she tries to strengthen this determination, is in lines 24–29 (Ruaeus, Exercitationes rhetoricae, III, 962–63. Here we have a textbook designed to guide classroom practice. Each speech was broken down into its constituent parts, with an emphasis on rhetorical structure and argumentation, and it is worth noting that the Exercitationes rhetoricae is accompanied by indices of descriptions, similes, and memorable proverbs, which opens up the Aeneid to the stylistic and content analysis we have been analysing.

So, to recapitulate: in moving through a series of early printed editions, we have found enough evidence to recover with considerable precision how students and teachers read Virgil in the classroom. Teachers like Hesse would buy an early printed edition of a poet like Virgil and read it with an eye on the moral wisdom it contained, especially as encapsulated in easily remembered proverbs and aphorisms, and on phrases that were expressed well, that represented the right way to say something, and that exemplified figures of speech like similes. While they read, they underlined. Often they also signalled the phrases that had caught their attention in the margin with a word or two ('indexing notes') that could remind them why the phrase was important. In the next step, the marginal signals themselves could be printed, as Melanchthon did, as a guide to other readers who would not in turn have to do all the thinking themselves. Sometimes the marginal cues led to a full-blown analysis of key parts of the text, as in the Exercitationes rhetoricae. At other times the whole business could be reformatted, as Toscanella did. with the marginal notes becoming the headings and with Virgil's text broken up and rearranged under those headings, some focused on content and some on style.

* * *

Let me now try to gloss what I have said so far and begin to explore its consequences for those of us concerned with the teaching of the classics in the Renaissance. I would like to begin by considering what the volumes cited so far can tell us about early printed books as physical objects and about the way books were read in the Renaissance classroom. First, with all due respect to Elizabeth Eisenstein, the boundary between handwritten manuscripts and early printed books is more permeable than is often claimed.²² A good many copies of early

²² Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, esp. pp. 3–42, argues that the invention of the printing press introduced a decisive break between manuscript and print

printed editions of Virgil, as is the case with other editions of other authors, contain handwritten marginalia, so that it is simply not right to claim, as the authors of an otherwise exemplary study of the medieval book do, that '[w]ith the growth of print as the normal medium of the page, the main medieval vehicle for relating new thought to inherited tradition disappears — namely, the gloss and the practice of glossing. [...] The printed book is not itself an object in which one writes long glosses.'23 On the contrary: Renaissance schoolmasters regularly glossed their printed texts by hand, and their students copied down what they said into the margins of their printed texts. To stay with Virgil in the Veneto, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana still preserves an edition printed by Aldus Manutius that had been owned by a teacher, containing three dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century but no name, that is filled with his marginal notes. And there is no shortage of Renaissance books in the libraries of the Veneto that contain notes by student owners. A copy of the first Venetian edition of Virgil, for example, contains an extensive set of lecture notes copied into the margins along with an ownership note in somewhat tentative Latin: 'Hic liber est mei Bartolamei Ghellini de Nolilisbus Vicentinae, manet sive habitat Vicetia descipulus Lodovici Romeoni magister publicus' ('This book belongs to me, Bartolameus Ghellinus de Nolilisbus of Vicenza, [who] remains or dwells in Vicenza as a student of Lodovicus Roneonus, the public teacher'), and a copy of a 1476 edition contains marginal and interlinear notes interspersed with 'non audivi' ('I did not hear [this lesson]'), indicating that a section of commentary is missing because the student was absent from class. The Biblioteca Comunale, Treviso, owns a 1578 Virgil whose student owner, again, provided precise details about his study of the Georgics: 'Lo incominciaremo alli 19 di Aprile 1610 dichiarato da D. Camillo Setti à me Novello Rosen in Ferrara' ('We shall begin on 19 April 1610, [with the text] explained by Master Camillo Setti to me, Novello Rosen[o], in Ferrara').²⁴

Equally permeable, I would like to argue, is the boundary between what it has become fashionable to call 'text' and 'paratext'. In terms of the process discussed above, an early reader might write 'avarice' by hand into the empty margin of the early printed edition of Virgil he just bought. If the reader is a scholar-printer

culture; recent research, however, has been emphasizing the continuities between the two. Margaret J. M. Ezell, for example, has argued that for several groups, manuscripts remained the preferred way to disseminate their work long after the invention of printing; see Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife*.

²³ Rouse and Rouse, 'Backgrounds to Print', p. 465.

²⁴ Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, pp. 48–49.

like Aldus Manutius, Jr, or Henri Estienne, he might then set the text — properly emended, of course — in print along with 'avarice' and the other marginal notes he had jotted down to guide the understanding of the next teacher or student in this chain of consumers. ²⁵ Here 'avarice' is clearly part of the paratext: the dedications, introductions, and indices that accompany the text and guide our interpretation of it. ²⁶ But as soon as it gets moved from the margins of the page to the centre, as it does when someone like Toscanella makes it a heading in a book like the *Osservationi*, then the paratext has become the text. And not just part of the text, but the guiding force that structures how what was originally the text — Virgil's *Aeneid* — is broken apart and reconstructed. And by this point, Humpty Dumpty cannot be put back together again: we have what amounts to a new work of literature, in Virgil's words, but structured within the mental apparatus of a later reader. Ah, the power of an 'indexing note'!

The third point to arise from all this is that early modern teachers and students simply did not read in the same way as we do — or, to avoid the risky overgeneralization, I should say that most of them, most of the time, did not read books like the *Aeneid* in the same way as most of us do.²⁷ Ann Moss has described beautifully and at length what is going on here. Early readers approached classical texts like the *Aeneid* in search of moral wisdom, especially as it was expressed in memorable phrases and aphorisms, and of examples of stylistic felicity, both well-turned phrases and figures of speech. When they found them, they marked them for later retrieval, by underlining them, by putting an 'NB' or pointing hand in the margin, or by jotting down a key word or two to remind them of why the passage was important.²⁸ As Guarino da Verona explains, the marked passages were then collected, generally in two sets of notebooks, one focused on content (*historice*), the other on style (*methodice*).²⁹ The notebooks were generally organized under headings, like 'avarice' or 'simile', to facilitate easy retrieval. And this was the point: the

²⁵ For editions with the marginal notes of these scholars, see Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni vergiliane*.

²⁶ Genette, 'Introduction to the Paratext', p. 261, and Genette, *Palimpsestes*, p. 93.

²⁷ Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings', p. 155, draws attention to a passage in the prologue of the 1507 Saragossa edition of Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina* which describes three different ways to read: our 'normal' effort to grasp a text in its totality, along with the focus on certain detached episodes, and the effort to mine a text for easily memorized maxims and ready-made formulas.

²⁸ Moss, Printed Commonplace-Books.

²⁹ Guarinus, 'De ordine docendi et studendi', pp. 268–69, a point to which Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, p. 270, drew attention. On collecting excerpts in notebooks, see Cervolini, *De arte excerpendi*.

reader could use the notebooks in his own writing, as a source for pithy sayings and well-turned phrases. It is rare for all the steps in the process — a marked text, the commonplace book, and the original work of the early modern writer — to survive, but occasionally this happens. For example, the published notes to the 1656 translation of the first book of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* by John Evelyn, the great English diarist, contain observations that we can trace through Evelyn's commonplace books, which survive in three large volumes, to the Latin text from his library, which was underlined and marked in the margins in the usual way.³⁰

Now we can see what Toscanella's Osservationi is: it is, quite simply, a printed commonplace book. And it is not the only book like this to emerge from the Renaissance classroom. As the title of Opera, in locos communes digesta [...] (Works, divided into commonplaces [...]) suggests, this book, too, gives us a Virgil whose poetry is presented as a tissue of phrases memorable for their style or content.³¹ There is also a whole series of books like the Sententiae et proverbia ex poetis Latinis (Sentences and proverbs from the Latin poets), published anonymously in Venice in 1547,³² in which the words of Virgilian wisdom take their place among the pieces that Henri Estienne extracted from other Roman poets.

Within the system I have just described, we can see several uses for books like these. A teacher could use them to locate passages worth highlighting and discussing in his lectures. A student could use them as labour-saving devices, sources of the moral and stylistic gems that had to stud the compositions he had to write — sources, in this case, that rested on someone else's work. But in either case, the value of the *Osservationi*, and of books like the *Exercitationes rhetoricae* that are related to it, remains hidden until we recognize them for what they are and can begin to integrate our understanding of them as an indexing system with an understanding of the structures of thought (to paraphrase Moss) upon which they rest. It is these deeper structures, in the end, that open up a window into how books were actually read in the Renaissance classroom.

* * *

I would like to close by suggesting how these humble, unduly neglected volumes can be used to offer a commentary on some of the basic generalizations

³⁰ Hunter, 'The British Library and the Library of John Evelyn', pp. 84–85.

³¹ Editions were published in Douai by Balthasar Bellerus in 1595, in Tournon by Claudius Michael in 1597, and in Cologne by B. Gualtherius in 1601, with a version under a different title (*Thesaurus P. Virgilii Maronis* [...]) being reprinted through the seventeenth century. On the *Thesaurus*, see Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 221, n. 6.

³² This book, along with a series of similar titles, has been studied at length in Kallendorf, 'Proverbs, Censors, and Schools'.

about Renaissance education that other scholars have proposed over the last couple of decades.

Let me begin with Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's *From Humanism to the Humanities*, a book that has been widely cited since its appearance twenty years ago. Grafton and Jardine begin from the premise that 'the practical classroom activity which went to support the ideology of humanism was frankly inadequate to match the fervour of the ideal'.³³ They begin by examining the pedagogical practice of Guarino da Verona, the educational theorist and schoolmaster who did a great deal to popularize the commonplacing procedures we have been examining. As his son Baptista, in a treatise 'which serves as a general record of practices in [the elder] Guarino's school', explained,

Writing glosses in books is also extremely profitable [...]. Writing of this kind wonderfully sharpens the wit, polishes the tongue, produces fluency in writing, leads to precise factual knowledge, strengthens the memory, and, finally, affords students a storeroom, as it were, of commentary and memory aids [...]. Let them excerpt in particular those things which seem worth remembering and are rarely found. This practice will also serve greatly to develop a rich and ready diction if students, in the course of their miscellaneous reading, will note down maxims pertinent to a given topic and collect them in one particular place [...]. ³⁴

But the result of this procedure, Grafton and Jardine argue, was that the general train of thought in a text was invariably sacrificed to an ever-increasing mass of detail, from explanations of uncommon words and unusual constructions, to brief discussions of historical points and fragments of general information. Some of this detail would have touched on moral issues, but 'these observations inevitably became absorbed into the pedagogical routine — something to be recorded between etymologies and paraphrases, rather than a coherent contribution to a fully articulated moral philosophy.'35 In other words, humanist education failed

³³ Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, p. xiv; see also Black, 'Italian Renaissance Education'.

³⁴ 'Explanationes quoque in libros scribere vehementer conducet [...]. Hoc exercitationis genus mirifice acuit ingenium, linguam expolit, scribendi promptitudinem gignit, profectam rerum noticiam inducit, memoriam confirmat, postremo studiosis quasi quandam expositionum cellam promptuariam et memoriae subsidium praestat [...]. Ea vero potissimum excerpent, quae et memoratu digna et paucis in locis inveniri videbuntur. Erit hoc etiam ad orationis tum copiam tum promptitudinem valde idoneum, si inter legendum ex variis libris sententias quae ad eandem materiam pertinent adnotabunt, et in unum quendam locum colligent [...]', Guarinus, 'De ordine docendi et studendi', pp. 294–97 and xiii.

³⁵ Grafton and Jardine, From Humanism to the Humanities, p. 22.

to extract a self-conscious training in character formation and citizenship from the parsing, drilling, and antiquarianism of classroom practice.

Perhaps, in the hands of a poor teacher, the classics were sometimes taught in such a stultifying way that only the best students could get a glimpse of why the texts were worth reading in the first place. But if one looks at any quantity of early printed books that were marked up either by students in the classroom or by older owners who continued reading as they had been taught in the humanist schools, it is clear that there was a keen interest in the moral content of the text. Bartolameus Ghellinus, the Vicentine student to whom I referred a few moments ago, marked off passages like these for transfer to his commonplace book: 'toil conquers everything, unrelenting toil' ('labour omnia vicit | improbus'; Georgics, 1.145–46), 'voracious love, to what do you not drive the hearts of men?' ('improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!'; Aeneid, IV.412), and 'be warned, learn justice, do not scorn the gods' ('discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos'; Aeneid, VI.620). And the unnamed schoolmaster who worked all the way through the Marciana Aldine that I mentioned before actually adds an index of passages in Virgil's poetry headed 'passages moving a pious reader' ('loca lectorem pium commoventia'), suggesting systematic attention to moral content.³⁶ The students of this schoolmaster may well have been unusually fortunate, but as Toscanella's Osservationi suggests, students like Bartolameus Ghellinus would probably have received more in the way of training in character and citizenship than Grafton and Jardine would lead us to believe.

In *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Robert Black begins where Grafton and Jardine left off, focusing on the medieval background to humanist philological teaching. After examining several hundred manuscripts of school texts located in Florentine libraries, Black observes (and I quote here the last sentence of his conclusion) that the humanists 'had no serious intention of replacing the medieval heritage; instead, their aim was to secure a privileged position within the grammatical hierarchy as inherited from the middle ages'.³⁷ Black stresses the continuities between medieval teachers and their early Renaissance successors, who, he argues, did not effect significant changes until the end of the fifteenth century.

Anyone who has looked at lots of school commentaries has to admit that there is much to commend in Black's argument. As Marjorie Curry Woods shows elsewhere in this volume, it is not always easy to tell from what is said and how it is said whether one is looking at a twelfth-century commentary to Virgil or one

³⁶ Kallendorf, Virgil and the Myth of Venice, pp. 32 and 222–24.

³⁷ Black, *Humanism and Education*, p. 368.

from the sixteenth century.³⁸ Toscanella's *Osservationi*, however, points to one area in which humanist practice marked a pronounced shift of emphasis from medieval pedagogy. Ann Moss has pointed out that many, if not all, the organizational features of the Renaissance commonplace book can be traced back to techniques developed in the environment of thirteenth-century preaching rhetoric.³⁹ The commonplace book, however, was really a Renaissance phenomenon, reaching its zenith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The notebooks containing examples of elegant Latin style flourished in the classroom environment in which emphasis was placed on writing good Ciceronian Latin, and the moral extracts complement Erasmus's *Adagia*.

Notwithstanding its suitability for organizing and retaining the fruits of wide reading, however, the commonplace book was only as rich as the reading that lay behind it. Here classroom practice indeed lagged far behind humanist educational theory. In contrast to the lengthy reading lists we find in the manuals of humanist educational theory, throughout Renaissance Europe Cicero and Virgil reigned supreme in educational practice. While many students were also exposed to some Terence, Ovid, and Horace as well, in the final analysis many Renaissance students did not end up being familiar with many more Latin authors than our own students today (although I hasten to add that they spent many more hours, over many more years, studying them). In this sense, then, books like Toscanella's *Osservationi* and the *Exercitationes rhetoricae* take on somewhat greater importance than they might otherwise have, since the object of their analysis occupied a central place in the educational edifice of their day. As a result, we can only recover how the classics were really studied in the Renaissance classroom from books like these.

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³⁸ At a conference held at Villa I Tatti in June, 1999, James Hankins stimulated a lively discussion over which elements of content or method allow one to distinguish a Renaissance commentary from its medieval predecessors; see *On Renaissance Commentaries*, ed. by Pade, 'Preface', p. 5; and Woods, 'What are the Real Differences between Medieval and Renaissance Commentaries?', in this volume.

³⁹ Moss, Printed Commonplace-Books, pp. 24-50.

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WHAT ARE THE REAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE COMMENTARIES?

Marjorie Curry Woods

This chapter attempts to problematize the question posed by its title. While I take for granted a continuing sense of a divide between 'medieval' and 'Renaissance' as generalized cultural terms, I have found that assumptions about what such terms mean can obscure areas of continuity in commentaries produced across this divide. Until we have consensus about what commentaries, especially those on school texts taught widely over a long period of time, *share* across periodic and geographical boundaries, we cannot, it seems to me, ascertain what the real differences between them might be.¹

My experiences in more than three decades of working with medieval and early Renaissance commentaries on a non-classical school text (the *Poetria nova* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf, fl. 1200), as well as in recent research on late medieval and early Renaissance school manuscripts of classical texts, indicate that many descriptions of commentaries from one period or the other often apply to both. For example, note the similarities among the following three descriptions of a paraphrase commentary:

[The teacher] probably began his lessons on Ovid and other poets by providing a word-by-word paraphrase of each verse. [...] The commentary was clearly the focus of the lesson. The higher faculties at the university had long since developed

¹ In this chapter I concentrate on the generic qualities of commentaries on school texts. For specific aspects 'that might characterize a [given] commentary as a work of Renaissance pedagogy or scholarship', see the essays in *On Renaissance Commentaries*, ed. by Pade, 'Preface', p. 5. The ongoing *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* (hereafter *CTC*) project analyses medieval and Renaissance translations of and commentaries on individual works by classical authors. For an exemplary study, see Osmund and Ulery, 'Sallustius Crispus, Gaius'.

a tradition of textual commentary which usually involved an overall discussion of the author, his work and its literary genre, [and] an analysis of specific words and expressions of interest for their origin, meaning or rhetorical nature [...].²

In the variety of manuscript formats in which it has survived, the sequence of interpretive approaches to the passage under discussion stays the same: paraphrase, then notes, then word-for-word glossing.³

What does survive confirms that university humanists employed the paraphrase-commentary format as the basic teaching approach. The professor might begin by reading through the section of the text to be discussed that day, followed by a brief general explanation of the meaning. He would then launch into a word-by-word analysis of the text, explaining grammatical, rhetorical, historical and interpretive points.⁴

The first is Ann Blair's description of the classroom commentary on Book I of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* recorded by Pierre Guyon, a schoolboy in the third class of the Collège [secondary school] de Lisieux in 1570–71.⁵ Blair suggests that the kind of university commentary on which this secondary-school teaching was based differed from what preceded it and reflected where and when it was produced.⁶ Yet her description was helpful to me in unravelling the sequence of teaching practices recorded almost two hundred years earlier in the manuscripts of the commentary by Dybinus of Prague on the *Poetria nova*, which I describe in the second quotation.⁷ A similar sequence is found in the third quotation in this group, Paul F. Grendler's paradigm of university teaching in Italy during the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Here, then, we have commentaries from different countries describing teaching from different centuries all noting the same sequence of commenting techniques. As Julia Haig Gaisser comments, 'We know quite a bit about Renaissance teaching. Both the appearance of the

² Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', pp. 131–32; see also Blair, '*Ovidius Methodizatus*'. The earlier article contains more technical information and reproduces several pages of the schoolbook under discussion.

³ Woods, Classroom Commentaries, p. 209.

⁴ Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 241.

⁵ The collège provided 'what we would call a secondary education between the small and little-known elementary schools and the arts faculty of the university on which it increasingly encroached'; see Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', p. 118.

⁶ Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', p. 132, on the *modus parisiensis*.

⁷ The official dictated version of the commentary by Dybinus of Prague (fl. 1369) was recorded at the University of Prague on 10 August 1375, in Praha, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, MS XII.B.12, fol. 42^{rb}.

classroom and the teaching style [of Renaissance teaching] were inherited from the Middle Ages.'8

Now consider a second group of quotations, all discussing various levels of teaching:

By the time of the Renaissance, the paraphrase-commentary served the student from his first serious reading of the text through university studies. The teacher might offer a simple paraphrase to 12 year olds, to be followed by more comprehensive treatment in the secondary school. The university professor commented at length on the basis of his own research, while the degree candidate wrote down as complete a set of notes as possible to serve his future needs.⁹

During the fifteenth century the *Fables* of Avianus could be handled in very different educational contexts: in town schools, probably as part of the teaching of Latin, not for beginners, but for advanced students; then [at universities in] preparatory elementary courses for new students, such as the grammar and rhetoric classes taught by baccalaureates at Cologne; later as part of lectures by masters in the area of moral philosophy; and, finally, after the middle of the century, in the context of early humanist teaching.¹⁰

⁸ Gaisser continues: 'The Professor, in his pulpit, read the text aloud, commenting on it word by word. He glossed difficult vocabulary, explained historical and mythological references, cited parallels from other authors, and corrected readings. The students either had texts or created them from the professor's dictation. This teaching method long outlasted the Renaissance: a form of it was still in use at the University of Edinburgh in the early 1960s, as I know from my own experience. By this time, of course, the students all owned printed texts, but the professor still went through the play — we were studying Aeschylus's Agamemnon — word by word, as his predecessors had done for a thousand years'; see Gaisser, 'Teaching Classics in the Renaissance', pp. 2–3. Such continuity has been noted in pre-university teaching. Robert W. Ulery suggests that 'students at the lower end of the curriculum [needed] no great sophistication of philological argument or textual correction, only the glossing and paraphrase of a tradition that had not changed over the course of the last few centuries'; see Ulery, 'Sallust's Bellum Catilinae', p. 12. In the same volume, Patricia J. Osmond comments, 'we know that teaching practices, especially at the lower end of the curriculum, tended to be conservative'; see Osmund, 'The Valla Commentary on Sallust's Bellum Catilinae', p. 36, citing among others Black, Humanism and Education, p. 11. Such essays as Gaisser, 'Filippo Beroaldo on Apuleius', do, however, go on to point out new aspects of Renaissance commentaries.

⁹ Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy, p. 244.

^{10 &#}x27;Die Fabeln Avians konnten im 15. Jahrhundert in sehr verschiedenen Ausbildungskontexten traktiert werden: an den Stadtschulen im Rahmen des — wohl nicht mehr ersten, sondern bereits fortgeschrittenen — Lateinunterrichts, dann im Rahmen propädeutischer Elementarkurse für die neuen Studenten, wie sie zur Grammatik und Rhetorik von den Kölner Baccalaren abgehalten worden, weiter im Rahmen der Vorlesungen von Magistern auf dem

[A] commentary is affected by both academic context and the background of the students. For example, the degree of abstraction in marginal commentary is determined more by whether the students are studying [the text] in a university setting than by how much Latin they already know. But the density of interlinear glossing may be affected by both the degree of Latin literacy that the students have attained (especially if found in a student-owned manuscript) and what a teacher might feel would be helpful in order to construe at sight in class.¹¹

The first quotation is again from Grendler; he describes this same paradigm as the basis of academic learning in Renaissance Italy (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) at all levels. The second is Michael Baldzuhn's description of the various levels at which one popular short verse text was taught in central Europe during the fifteenth century. The third item under this group is my own description of how, at any given level during the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, two separate pedagogical principles are reflected in the form as well as the content of the pedagogical commentary on the *Poetria nova*. ¹²

My third group of quotations treats attitudes towards Aristotle. They are provided partly for comic relief, but also because they evoke the various ways that both medieval and Renaissance commentaries were steeped in the lore of 'The Philosopher'.

Rhetoric and poetics are two different bodies of knowledge according to Aristotle. The evidence of this is that he wrote separate books about them. 13

[H]e also chose to reconcile Ovid with Aristotelian physics. 14

"'You Aristotelize in everything" — said of an idiot'. 15

Gebiet der *philosophia moralis*, und schließlich, seit der Jahrhundertmitte, auch im Umfeld frühhumanistischer Lehre'; see Baldzuhn, 'Quidquid placet', p. 357, translation mine.

- ¹¹ Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, p. 12. See also Suzanne Reynolds: 'It is the degree of Latin literacy that, in the end, shapes the reading of the text;' Reynolds, 'Inventing Authority', p. 14.
- ¹² On levels of teaching as reflected in medieval commentary practice see, for example, Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 61.
- ¹³ 'Rethorica et poetica diuerse sunt scientie secundum Aristotilem in cuius signum diuersos libros de eis composuit;' Sevilla, Bibl. Capitular y Colombina, MS Col. 5–4–30, fol. 2^{va}.
 - ¹⁴ Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', p. 142.
- 15 "[...] Tu in omnibus factis tuis aristotelisas", intelligendo contrarium, a rhetorical example from Dybinus of Prague, *Declaracio oracionis de Beata Dorothea*, trans. in Knox, *Ironia*, p. 14 (Latin text from p. 131 of Dybinus of Prague, *Declaracio oracionis de Beata Dorothea*, ed. by Jaffe).

The first and last are from medieval commentaries themselves. The former is one of my favourites. Question: how do we know that that rhetoric and poetics are different disciplines? Reply: because Aristotle wrote separate books on them! The author of this nifty demonstration is Pace of Ferrara (fl. c. 1300), who wrote the longest and most popular Italian commentary on the *Poetria nova*. The second quotation, on a teacher's efforts to reconcile Ovid with Aristotle, comes from Blair's description of the commentary in her late sixteenth-century Parisian schoolboy's textbook. The last is an example of late fourteenth-century irony offered by Dybinus of Prague in his own commentary on one of his own rhetorical treatises.

Finally, two descriptions of classroom techniques:

[The student's] notes were taken in his class presumably under some form of dictation. [...] Most of the session would have been devoted to [the teacher's] praelectio, or commentary on the assigned text and its author, on which the students took notes [...]. The students would be responsible for reciting this material when quizzed by their peers or masters either during quaestiones at the end of class, or in the reparationes common at mealtime, or at the beginning of the next class in the exercise of redditio.¹⁶

[He] gave close readings of the Latin authors, including explanations of grammatical rules and rhetorical techniques, which he dispensed 'gradually, in a manner commensurate with [the students'] powers of assimilation'; he assigned daily exercises in memorization, recitation, and imitation that were tailored to the strengths and weaknesses of individual students; he gave evening instruction that included explanations of the 'poets and orators who were to serve as models for the boys in their introductory exercises in imitating prose and poetry'; and he demanded daily compositions in poetry and prose that were then presented in informal competitions.¹⁷

These descriptions of how classical texts were incorporated into a larger pedagogical framework refer to classrooms dated four centuries apart. The first refers to that same late sixteenth-century Parisian collège, ¹⁸ while the second is my summary of John of Salisbury's description of a twelfth-century teacher, Bernard of Chartres. Such techniques are not limited to the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, however. I have suggested elsewhere that evidence of them can be found, for example, in the thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century commentaries on the *Poetria nova*.¹⁹

¹⁶ Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', pp. 126–27.

¹⁷ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, 1.24, quoted and paraphrased in Woods, 'Rhetoric', p. 635.

¹⁸ Compare the description of the teaching in a sixteenth-century Protestant school in Krems, Germany in Knox, 'Order, Reason and Oratory', pp. 65–67.

¹⁹ Woods, 'Some Techniques of Teaching Rhetorical Poetics'.

Taking into account these similarities and blurrings of chronological boundaries, I would like to suggest the following caveats for those analysing texts surviving in commentaries from the transitional period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

- A number of what are usually listed as characteristics of Renaissance commentaries are also true of medieval ones (as in the descriptions above).
 I would add as a corollary that the more purely descriptive the characterizations of the commentaries of either period are, the more these descriptions resemble each other.
- 2) Much of what is said to be characteristic of medieval commentaries is true of only some medieval commentaries and is also true of some Renaissance commentaries. The most obvious example is allegorical interpretation, often used seemingly as a synonym for medieval hermeneutics. Craig Kallendorf's book on the commentaries on Virgil published in Venice provides an excellent example of a Renaissance commentary that does employ allegory,²⁰ while Karsten Friis-Jensen can say, 'None of the medieval commentaries I have mentioned are particularly interested in allegory.²¹
- 3) Some of the most important differences that do exist between medieval and Renaissance commentaries can be attributed to technical and technological aspects of the production of texts, such as the more widespread availability of paper (a much cheaper writing material than parchment)²² and, of course, the impact of printing. Certain rather irksome aspects of medieval commentaries like extreme repetition and the constant use of transitio (I just did X; now I am going to do Y) may be explained by the necessity

²⁰ Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice*, pp. 61–66, on the commentary by Cristoforo Landino.

²¹ Friis-Jensen, 'Medieval Commentaries on Horace', p. 65. Frank T. Coulson's studies of the Vulgate commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, however, show the important interpretive work done by medieval commentators who *did* take an allegorical approach to their material. See, for example, Coulson, 'The *Vulgate* Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*'.

²² Paper also provided a greater opportunity for students to make their own collections of excerpts from texts, classical or otherwise. The pedagogical and compositional use of excerpts and commonplaces was widespread during the Middle Ages, and many manuscripts of such collections were made for these purposes, but medieval collections were much less often the product of individual taste than was later the case. On commonplace books see also Kallendorf's chapter 'Virgil in the Renaissance Classroom: From Toscanella's Osservationi [...] sopra l'opere di Virgilio to the Exercitationes rhetoricae' in this volume.

of reinforcing doctrine so that students could either write it down or keep it in their heads. When and where students owned their own books, these devices were less necessary and consequently less widespread.²³

The replacement of Latin terms with Greek ones in Renaissance pedagogical commentaries may be another phenomenon related to the increased availability of texts. Latin terms and definitions that played on their etymologies would have been especially efficacious earlier when there was more emphasis on aural learning. ²⁴ *Reading* medieval definitions emphasizes their inelegance and obscures the usefulness of repetition and etymological resonance for students who were *listening* to them instead.

The layout of printed schoolbooks formatted for different kinds of handwritten commentary can help us figure out what was happening in earlier classrooms. For example, Pierre Guyon uses different scripts in different parts of the page. In some places the change in script appears to reflect a conscious distinction, although elsewhere it may have resulted from time pressure; some of his notes were taken down during class lectures, while other material was written in later.²⁵ Blair's analysis of these distinctions helped me to understand some of the shifts and transitions in much earlier pedagogical commentaries.

A technical question for those working primarily with commentaries in printed editions is this: do paratextual materials like tables of contents and indices treat text and commentary as an integral item or as separate entities? In the manuscripts that I have studied, any tables or lists of contents consider the text and commentary together as a single unit of content, sometimes generating a picture of the *Poetria nova* at odds with what the text alone says.

4) One of the major innovations in Renaissance pedagogy was the introduction of carefully graded *classes* for students (as opposed to the much less exact sequences of *texts* of increasing length and difficulty that are one of the factors that distinguish levels of teaching during the Middle Ages). When Blair is able to identify the exact stage of his schooling at which Pierre Guyon was tackling Book one of the *Metamorphoses*, ²⁶ we are light

²³ For reasons of cost, dictation of school texts continued far beyond the availability of printed books in some areas; see Knox, 'Order, Reason and Oratory', p. 67; also Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', p. 126.

²⁴ See Woods, 'Teaching the Tropes in the Middle Ages', pp. 81–82.

²⁵ Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', pp. 120–21 and 126; individual pages of student notes are reproduced on pp. 112–22 and 133.

²⁶ '[T]he early 16th century saw the introduction of successive and clearly delineated

years from the kind of generic speculation that was the best that I could do with the commentaries on which I was working. Those who have dipped into the two volumes of Thomas Whitfield Baldwin's *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* will know the specificity and array of curricular arrangements sprouting up elsewhere in Europe.²⁷

This shift may be related to one of the other pedagogical distinctions between the two periods: the gradual replacing of shorter, complete texts with extracts of longer works, particularly with regard to classical works in the curriculum. The emphasis on extracts is one of the most noticeable differences in the texts listed as the curricular requirements for specific classes in the age of printing (reflected in Guyon's *Sammelband*, and see also Baldwin), in contrast to the works copied in medieval school manuscripts with which I have worked.²⁸

5) Some of what appear to be differences between medieval and Renaissance commentaries are, in fact, the result of the different ways that modern scholars are approaching them. We may inadvertently compare aspects of works produced for students at one level in one period with those produced for a different audience in another period. Similarly, we may be too quick to assume that changes in adult writing style are directly attributable to changes in pedagogical techniques, rather than to changes in the application of the same techniques. If we take at face value Renaissance commentators' criticism of their medieval predecessors, we may mistakenly conclude that certain attitudes articulated in very late medieval pedagogy of the classics (which resembles in some ways late antique pedagogy in its fraught attitude toward pagan texts) are true for the Middle Ages as a whole. A corollary: it may be too easy to assume that Renaissance teachers abandoned the techniques (and authors) that they criticized.

In conclusion, I would like to make a plea for more descriptive and less judgemental comparisons of commentaries from different periods; Lodi Nauta's studies

classes (*ordines*), varying in number from *collège* to *collège* but regularly covering certain material with pupils of a given level and age. Most *collèges* had at least six classes devoted to grammar before the final or "first" class, which studied rhetoric; Blair, 'Lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', p. 119, citing '[o]n the novelty of this concept', Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuits*.

²⁷ Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*. See also Sullivan, 'Playing the Lord', p. 184; and, on Protestant schools in Germany, Knox, 'Order, Reason and Oratory', pp. 63–64.

²⁸ See (in addition to Baldwin) Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 240–41 and 249.

of Boethius commentaries are invaluable from this perspective.²⁹ As part of this approach, I would urge those who are working on commentaries to make available any evidence of sequence and pattern in text and commentary. For example, when commentary and text alternate, does commentary always precede text? Is there a perceived pattern of alternation or development between the specific and the general? My experience is that commentary sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the text, and, as we saw in the earlier quotations about later classrooms, that word-for-word glossing of the lines can be the *last* stage of analysis (in contrast to a preliminary paraphrase that incorporates the words of a verse text in prose order, with or without explanations). Finally, what are the indications of different levels of teaching? I have found that besides the level of abstraction and degree of interlinear glossing mentioned earlier, the amount of text under consideration — how much the student is asked to hold in his head at one time — is an important indicator of comparative levels.

I have concentrated here on the differences between late medieval and early Renaissance commentaries, but similar questions could be asked about other watershed distinctions, such as those between pre- and post-twelfth-century commentaries, since significant changes took place then, too, of course.³⁰ Each shift tends to be seen as a unique phenomenon and considered in isolation, rather than as part of an ongoing series of cycles.³¹ We may be contributing to outdated and incorrect perceptions when we are not able to make comparative studies among the periods and geographical areas to which the term 'Middle Ages' can refer. A growing knowledge of the similarities among commentaries from different periods, as well as the reasons behind some of the perceived differences, will

²⁹ See, for example, Nauta, "Magis sit Platonicus quam Aristotelicus". Gaisser's analysis of a Renaissance commentator's method, which follows her discussion of the continuities between the two traditions quoted above, is another illustration of the kind of approach that I am advocating.

³⁰ See, for example, Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, especially pp. 134–67 and 277–84.

³¹ See, however, Black on the use of Cicero in fifteenth-century Italian schools: 'It is one of the achievements of the Italian Renaissance to have restored *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Paradoxa storicorum*, *Somnium Scipionis* and *De officiis* to the grammar-school curriculum, after two centuries of disuse;' Black, *Humanism and Education*, p. 262; see also pp. 263–67. Paying attention to such patterns may help us understand why earlier commentaries were popular in specific later periods, and even claimed for their own. On the misattribution to a mid-fourteenth century commentator of a twelfth-century commentary on Horace's *Ars poetica*, see Friis-Jensen, 'Horace and the Early Writers of Arts of Poetry', p. 363. See also Ulery on 'the "curious" instance of a medieval explication of a classical text, published as the work of a teacher of the revived classical learning at the end of the fifteenth century' (Ulery, 'Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*', p. 8).

allow us to incorporate the Middle Ages squarely into the middle of the western tradition, where it should occupy the largest place. The embarrassment of riches that is our inheritance of commentaries from the world before print needs to be described in large and general as well as focused and specific terms. I suggest that, for a time at least, we look at the classical, medieval, and Renaissance periods together as the Age of Commentary, a period of textual transmission and acquisition of a magnitude almost incomprehensible today and about which we still have much to learn.

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GEORGE BUCHANAN'S REVISION OF THE 'ST ANDROS' CURRICULUM: RAMISM, REFORMATION RELIGION, AND CICERONIAN HUMANISM IN TRANSITION

C. Jan Swearingen

eorge Buchanan's proposed revision of the curriculum at St Andrews, Scotland's oldest university, presents a microcosm of larger debates that continue to surround Renaissance humanism, Ramism, early Protestant doctrines of education and rhetoric, and the realignment of liberal arts humanism during the movement away from scholasticism. Buchanan's outline for 'St Andros' (1563) was composed at the request of the reformers, and later supplanted by Andrew Melville's amendments (1579). The two models trace early reformation curricular debates that were the legacy of a long saga of political intrigue and religious controversies. As in France and elsewhere, the struggle for control of the university curriculum in Scotland became a three-way tug of war dividing church, faculty, and monarch. Not just one, but several kinds of reform were at issue in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Roman papacy and bishops' authority over Europe's universities were rejected not only by Protestant religious reformers, but also inside the universities by revisionist faculty and, compounding the picture, by monarchs establishing their own royal colleges advancing the new humanist curriculum. Buchanan in Portugal and Petrus Ramus in France were beneficiaries of royal humanist interventions intended to create a curriculum independent of church purview, designed to train legal and political advisors to monarchs. Revivals of classical republicanism accompanied

¹ The story of Buchanan's patronage and later imprisonment for heresy in Portugal is related in several sources: see Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*; Buchanan, *The*

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many of these restorations of serious study of Greek and Latin literature, history, and rhetoric.

Many themes central to the long Scottish Enlightenment can first be seen in the Scottish Renaissance, and its premier figure, George Buchanan. Before he became a leader of the Scottish reformation he had become acclaimed throughout Europe as a neo-Latin literary figure and humanist. Educated with Ignatius Loyola and John Calvin at the University of Paris, Buchanan was the author of widely admired translations of Greek dramas and dialogues advancing republican political ideas, and paraphrases of the psalms that were published throughout Europe, gaining for him as well as for Scotland great respect and acclaim. A stained glass window in Edinburgh's Greyfriars Church, where Buchanan is buried, commemorates one of his most-remembered achievements: the reform and improvement of the Latin language. Through his literary exemple and teaching he restored the Latin language to its classical beauty and purity. A cartouche below the window contains two lines from the Latin epitaph composed in Buchanan's honour by Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609):

Scotland, which once was the limit of the Roman Empire, henceforth will mark the furthest reach of Roman eloquence.²

Odd praise, it might seem, for an architect of the Scottish Reformation. A movement often associated enthusiastically with the emergence of early vernacular religion, literatures, and rhetorics coincided in Scotland with a revival of Latin neoclassicism. Misunderstandings and misrepresentations of scholasticism, arts scholasticism, Ramism, and late medieval rhetoric need to be corrected to account for the hearty revivals of neoclassical literature and rhetoric that occurred well before the period usually associated with neoclassicism — the eighteenth century. Buchanan's strategic silence on matters of religion, alongside his curricular

Powers of the Crown in Scotland, trans. by Arrowood. A new edition of *De Jure* was published in 2004: Buchanan, *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, ed. by Mason and Smith.

² 'Imperi fuerat Romani Scotia limes: | Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit'; Steele, *George Buchanan*, p. 18.

³ Ong, Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue, pp. 131–48, 'The Common Background: Arts Scholasticism'. Characterizing arts scholasticism as the trivium subjects required of all university students, Ong uses the term 'common' background in a double sense that is not entirely complimentary. By the late Middle Ages, the required 'common' curriculum had become a reductive version of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, inculcated by the memorization of lists of commonplaces drawn from Peter of Spain and Agricola's logic, and aimed at the rapid if superficial Latin education of 'boys'. It was this defective arts scholasticism, as distinct from the theological and philosophical scholastic tradition represented by Bonaventure, Thomas

reforms and renown as a writer across Europe, also merit further study if we are to clarify the relationships among his concepts of church and state, his promotion of wider access to education, and the Ciceronian humanism through which he so clearly encouraged republican models of political engagement.⁴

In his own time Buchanan was acclaimed not only as 'the humanist' but also as a Stoic after the fashion of Seneca and a philosopher in the tradition of Plato and Cicero, whose dialogues the *De Jure* emulates. Although he did not officially abandon the Roman Church before 1555, he became an activist in defence of the Scottish reformed church, and the only lay Moderator of its earliest General Assembly.

His peculiar importance as a political theorist is due to the synthesis he achieves of ideas from classical antiquity, the later Middle Ages, Scottish history, the Italian Renaissance, and the second, Calvinist phase of the Reformation. *De Jure* contains no idea that can be said to be wholly new; yet, since a political philosophy is not an aggregate of separate notions, but a system of ideas, each of which is to be understood in terms of its context, Buchanan's system affords a new orientation.⁵

An equally significant mark of Buchanan's innovation is the restoration of a full menu of classical literature into the undergraduate arts curriculum he proposes for St Andrews. His literary practice further illustrates his educational goals: after mastering canonical classical texts, students would be provisioned for participating in the religious, intellectual, and political debates of their day.

Aquinas, and Duns Scotus that became the target of Ramist reformers who, according to Ong's account, eventually took an equally reductive curriculum outside the schools entirely. Like Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric*, and many other historians of rhetoric, Ong emphasizes the displacement of poetics by logic in Ramist rhetorics, the divorce of the art of eloquence from the art or science of argument.

⁴ Buchanan, *The Powers of the Crown in Scotland*, trans. by Arrowood, pp. 27–28. Contrasting Buchanan's compact theory with John Ponet's *A Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power* (1556), Arrowood notes that the *Treatise* had developed most of the lines of argument found in *De Jure*, including a number of literary allusions that Buchanan adopts, the strong emphasis upon the derivation of all political authority from the community, the insistence upon individual conscience, and the importance of keeping alive the spirit of independence in nations and individuals so that they may maintain vigilance in resisting the encroachments of governments upon their liberties (e.g. *De Jure*, Chap. 51). However, Buchanan sharply diverges from both Ponet and John Knox on a crucial point: Ponet and Knox — and other Calvinist political thinkers — had held that the compact between the community and God is prior to the compact between ruler and people. 'This led to the insidious doctrine that the State should or could make itself responsible for purity of faith and worship. Buchanan's silence on this point is significant' (Buchanan, *The Powers of the Crown in Scotland*, trans. by Arrowood, p. 28).

⁵ Arrowood's commentary in Buchanan, *The Powers of the Crown in Scotland*, trans. by Arrowood, p. 28.

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The curricular reforms of Ramus and Buchanan are similar in their emphasis on practical reasoning and related redefinitions of the relationships among grammar, rhetoric, and logic in the curriculum. Several generations of historians have linked Ramism, the vernacular, and Protestantism.⁶ Defences of scholasticism combined with an overemphasis upon Ramism's divorce of rhetoric from logic, and poetics from dialectic, have had the effect of suppressing Ramus's humanistic ancestry and role as an exponent of Erasmian humanism. Further examination of the variety of Buchanan's literary practices and curricular proposals can help explain why he is so variously characterized as a Senecan, a Stoic, and a Ciceronian humanist.⁷ The most widely acclaimed, sometimes vilified, roles played by Ramus and Buchanan were those of curricular reformers firmly rooted in restoring Latin and Greek scholarship to the undergraduate curriculum. The remainder of this discussion examines the roles they assigned to the study of classical literature in the undergraduate classroom, the ways in which they defined the objects of such study as rhetorical, and the pedagogical models they provided in their own works. Buchanan's restoration of Latin and Greek literary learning to the curriculum at St Andrews is explored in three segments: the parallels between his reforms and Ramus's within the University of Paris, Buchanan's career as a teacher in France, Scotland, and Portugal, before his final return to Scotland in 1558, and his role as tutor and advisor to Mary Stuart before joining the Scottish leaders who called for her abdication and then commissioned a revision of the St Andrews curriculum.

⁶ Ong's, Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue has recently been reprinted by University of Chicago Press (2004), with a new introduction by Adrian Johns. Like Miller, The New England Mind, Ong's work on Ramism and early Protestantism has been challenged and revised in a number of studies that illuminate the complicated and diverse movements that led to plain style, a preference for logic over literary or rhetorical eloquence, and the movement from Latin to vernacular rhetoric and poetics. For a lucid account of the origins of the false and reductive dichotomy between rhetoric as style and poetics versus dialectic as logic in histories of medieval rhetoric, see Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric'. A strong case against claims of enlightenment in defence of early Protestant rhetoric and literacy is presented by Simpson, Burning to Read. Simpson emphasizes the religious schisms and persecution that followed Protestant uses of the press and emphases on simplified 'literal' translations.

⁷ See Allan, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland*, for a lucid explanation of the shifting meanings of 'Senecan' and 'Ciceronian' humanism in relationship to 'Stoicism', 'neo-Stoicism', and 'Christian Stoicism'.

Ramus and Ramism

Many debates about arts scholasticism (the trivium subjects as they had been taught in the late medieval schools), Ciceronianism, Ramism, and Protestantism have converged around the question of what exactly Ramism signified as a movement within, outside of, or against, the universities. Buchanan's time at the University of Paris coincided with that of Ramus. Buchanan's younger contemporary, Melville, had been Ramus's student. Buchanan and Ramus had both studied at Paris under another Scot, John Mair.

The celebrated Petrus Ramus, who excited so much notice by his bold and persevering attacks on the Aristotelian philosophy, became the founder of a new sect which made no inconsiderable progress in the schools of Europe. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the merits of his system of logic, or its tendency to advance real science, it does not admit of a doubt that a young man of talents must have derived the greatest benefit from a teacher of such ardour and independence, if not originality of mind, and of so much eloquence, as Ramus possessed. The greatest men of that age were trained up under him, and several of those, who, like Scaliger, have spoken disrespectfully of his merits, were indebted to him for that acuteness and classical taste which enabled them to detect the blunders which he committed, and into which he was betrayed by precipitation and a fondness for distinguishing himself in every department of knowledge. He was at this time Royal Professor of Roman Eloquence, as well as Principal of the Collège de Presele. Melville attended his lectures, and later introduced the plan of teaching, and the mode of philosophizing, followed by his master, into the universities of Scotland.⁸

In this portrait and many others, Buchanan, Melville, and Ramus are characterized as exponents of the new humanism, the new learning, in the tradition of Erasmus. They represent several movements that would become associated with the Reformation: an emphasis on 'real science', natural reason, and practical reasoning, disgust regarding the sloppy and reductive forms of education that marked a low point in higher education at many European universities, a concern for the revival and restoration of Latin and Greek in their classical purity, and an encouragement of the reading of classical literature as an instrument for training clear thinking as well as a source of rhetorical models. Controversies over Ciceronianism and, particularly, over Aristotle abound in this moment. Ramus became famous, and infamous, for his energetic denunciations of Aristotle, and his excoriations of the teaching of Cicero. However, not just the devil, but the

⁸ McCrie, Life of Andrew Melville, 1, 23.

⁹ Brown's commentary in Buchanan, *Vernacular Writings*, ed. by Brown, p. 4.

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angels are in the details of Ramus's criticisms, which are receiving the reappraisals that they richly deserve. ¹⁰ Misreadings and reductive chapbook approaches to 'teaching' both Aristotle and Cicero are the true objects of Ramus's attacks, if we read the fine print.

Defending Cicero against Ramus in 1547, Jacques Perion appealed to his colleagues: 'all rhetors and orators who cherish Cicero as the father of eloquence are implored to resist Ramus who denies him art and judgment'. What exactly had Ramus asserted?

In lectures eventually compiled and published in 1557 as the *Ciceronianus* Ramus had for over ten years defended a new method of teaching and learning which emphasized humanistic pragmatism, related philosophy to eloquence as an art to a science, and asserted the union of philosophy and eloquence. Those who confine themselves to Cicero's words as found in Cicero's works extant today are not true Ciceronians, Ramus claimed, because Cicero advised taking the best from all the best authors, to gather *copia* and *bonitas* from all. Where Cicero taught that all great authors should be emulated, the contemporary so-called Ciceronians teach the imitation of only one: Cicero. Where Cicero rejected the imitation of words, they teach this only. Cicero put speaking before writing; he preferred public education and attended the public schools and law courts; he emphasized *virtus* and *auctoritas* more than *oratio* alone. Of Cicero's ideal orator, the chief glory was temperance, constancy, equity, patriotism.¹²

Like Erasmus before him, Ramus denounced careless Latin scholarship and the classroom methods of rote memorization and imitation. Advocating the study, teaching, and practice of Latin as a living classical tongue to be used in politics, law, and the arts outside the university, Erasmus, Ramus, and Buchanan defied the older conception of logic as doctrinal dialectic, and the scholastic Ciceronians' maxim- and imitation-based teaching of eloquence. 'Ramus's interpretations of Cicero and Quintilian, as embodied in the *Ciceronianus*, were delivered before crowds of interested and eager students, and showed that logic could not be divorced from eloquence nor eloquence from life.'¹³

¹⁰ See, for example, Henderson, 'Professors of Eloquence and Philosphy'; and Henderson, 'Must a Good Orator Be a Good Man?'.

¹¹ Perion, *Pro Ciceronis oratore contra Petrum Ramum oratio*, ed. and trans. by Scott, pt I, p. 100.

¹² Scott, 'Analysis of Peter Ramus's *Ciceronianus*', in Scott, *Controversies Over the Imitation of Cicero*, pt I, pp. 100–03.

¹³ Perion, *Pro Ciceronis oratore contra Petrum Ramum oratio*, ed. and trans. by Scott, pt I, p. 118. Scott also provides a translation of Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*, in pt II, pp. 19–132.

It is clear that Ramus knew well the difference between Cicero and Ciceronianism, and between Aristotle, newly restored in Greek, and Aristotelian scholasticism. In the same way, we should now more carefully distinguish between Ramus and Ramism, with an eye to the curricular reforms that Ramus inaugurated, as distinct from those that were carried out in his name. One hallmark of Ramus's teaching was the rejection of any formal logic that departed from the way in which people actually think. Against the scholastic Aristotelians, Ramus defended Aristotle as a Socratic philosopher whose approach was broadly in line with that of Cicero: as an advocate of the unity of philosophy and eloquence, practical reason, and wide reading and study as a resource for thinking and speaking. Ramus can seem inconsistent in his treatments of Aristotle's philosophy, perhaps because so often he is attacking the Aristotelians' misreadings and appropriations of pieces of Aristotle, their inattention to the larger whole. But to the extent that Aristotle, and not just later scholastic Aristotelians, regarded philosophy as an instrument, an organon or tool that concerns the rational aspects of human thought, Ramus joined other humanists and differed; he regarded the Stoic conception of philosophy, exemplified by Seneca and Cicero, as more suitable for teaching and learning. Advancing views of a harmony and parallelism between the natural world and the human psyche, the Stoics taught a unity between the natural order of the universe and the coherence of faculties in the human mind. All arts must be about, must conform to, should reflect, the natural order. It is no accident that Stoic 'natural law' found companionable recipients among medieval philosophers and Renaissance humanists alike with varying degrees of conformity to orthodox theology. 14 But that is another story.

Interlude: Natural Reason and Latin Learning

The belief that a natural order in the universe parallelled a natural order in the human mind, or reason, was known to Buchanan and Ramus not only through the classical Stoics and their exponents — Seneca and Cicero — but also through the philosophy of another Scot, Duns Scotus (1266–1308), and the lectures of one of his successors, John Mair, at Paris. No fewer than seventeen Scots had

¹⁴ See Stock, *Listening for the Text*, and Stock, 'Ethics and the Humanities'. Stock's account of Stoic ethics and natural law in relation to rhetoric and hermeneutics is an illuminating account of how the 'post-reading' experience was defined and practised in the ancient and medieval worlds. Also see Richard, *The Founders and the Classics*. Richard describes the synthesis of Stoic and Christian natural law doctrines in Paul's New Testament letters, as it was amplified in the thinking of the American founders. Buchanan and Ramus are a middle step in this sequence.

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served as regents at the University of Paris between its inception and the time of Buchanan and Ramus in the sixteenth century.¹⁵ From 1300 onwards, over forty Scots, including Scotus, were appointed there as professors of philosophy. Further attesting to rich intellectual ties between Scotland and the University of Paris, over eight hundred Scottish students were enrolled between 1492 and 1633.16 For a number of political and religious reasons that were often related, the French connection was alive and well for educated Scots. The enemy of my enemy — in this case, the English — is my friend. Alexander Broadie reminds us that two elements familiar to us from later eighteenth-century Scottish doctrines of the mental faculties were earlier advanced by Duns Scotus. First, the idea of a unity of the mind, comprising complementary relationships among memory, will, and intellect, or reason. Second, Scotus developed not just a positive doctrine of the will, but a doctrine that the will was essential to intellectual, spiritual, and moral life because it governed all choice and judgement. In political and religious philosophy, Scotus's and later Scots' notions of free will and choice as educable permeate closely related doctrines of education and self government — of the individual and of the state — and sustain the Augustinian doctrine that the Church cannot (and implicitly, should not), compel faith. 17 Buchanan's teacher Mair expanded upon Scotus's doctrines of intuitive cognition and free assent by fusing logical truth and intellectual assent, understood as free and conscious choice: 'nothing is a precept unless the will cooperates in its fulfilment.'18

Beginning with Scotus, Scots became associated in philosophical circles with several doctrines that amended earlier views of the human mind and passions. Scotus was an early empiricist. He believed that the human mind and intellect — comprising sense, reason, and will — could directly know and understand both

¹⁵ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, pp. 70–71.

¹⁶ Harvie, Scotland: A Short History, p. 70.

¹⁷ Broadie, Why Scottish Philosophy Matters, pp. 49–51. See also Broadie, The Shadow of Scotus.

¹⁸ Broadie, *Why Scottish Philosophy Matters*, p. 50. William of Ockham is an equally recognized exponent of these views, but he was not, of course, a Scot, or in the Scottish tradition.

¹⁹ Broadie, *Why Scottish Philosophy Matters*, and Broadie, *The Shadow of Scotus*. Broadie traces key Scottish views from Duns Scotus through the Renaissance figures John Mair and George Buchanan and on to the early Scottish Enlightenment thinker Francis Hutcheson who revised the curriculum in Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow on which were based similar revisions at Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Thomas Reid and George Campbell are among the later exponents of the eighteenth century that came to be known as the 'Scottish philosophy', a curriculum emphasizing an integration of the natural endowments of moral sense and common sense.

physical and conceptual reality. The objects of the senses, understood by reason and acted on through the volitional power of the will, together and in harmony formed the mind, intellect, and soul of man. Scotus amplified the Franciscan teaching that Love (of God) is the space in which will is located, and the converse, that free exercise of will is necessary to reason, to fulfil or embolden or complete reason.²⁰ Scotus's formulations were similar, that will is the power within which love is located, related to, but not restricted to, God's love of us that is evident, 'self-evident', in our willingness to obey the injunction to love God. Even apart from their theological elements, Scotus's and later Scottish philosophers' doctrines of how will and emotion are related to sense perceptions advanced a positive view of mental faculties that were in other philosophical systems considered negative, or depicted in a contrast to, or struggle with, reason. Scotus, then Mair and Buchanan after him, and even later Francis Hutcheson in the early eighteenth century, taught that the senses and the will are evidence of God's creation of and presence in the mind, that emotion, sense, will, and reason are part of a whole and necessary to one another. Mair not only taught that 'nothing is a precept unless the will cooperates in its fulfilment. He was also among the first to define 'experience' as a teacher. Experience teaches: observation, history, the experiences of life, all of these can be observed by anyone exercising 'common sense', another hallmark of Scottish philosophy. Evidentia, the 'evidentness' of things, is a matter of assent, volitional will, as much as it is a matter of ratiocination — even more so.²¹ In asserting again and again the partnerships among will, love, sense, emotion, and reason, the Scots came to emphasize the primacy of will and love over, but never in conflict with, intellect.²²

Along the road from Scotus's and Mair's expositions of free will to the common sense rhetorical philosophy of Thomas Reid in the eighteenth century lies the intervention of the humanist curriculum, the replacement of arts scholasticism by the liberal arts curriculum in the humanities, that was in Scotland inaugurated by Buchanan and Melville. The displacement and abandonment of 'arts scholasticism' bears revisiting in the Scottish scene for several reasons.²³ The

²⁰ Broadie, Why Scottish Philosophy Matters, p. 48.

²¹ Broadie, *The Shadow of Scotus*, pp. 72–73.

²² Broadie, *The Shadow of Scotus*, p. 49.

²³ Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, remains a useful study of the curriculum in rhetoric and dialectic before and after Ramist reforms in different places. Ong is generally recognized as exaggerating the Protestantism of Ramism, an emphasis that obscures Buchanan's and others' anti-'scholastic' revivals of classical literary models and practices as primarily curricular and not religious in their aims.

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University of St Andrews was but a century old when Buchanan was asked by the reformers to revise its curriculum. In Scotland as elsewhere bad church Latin and poorly educated clergy had become so notorious that, by several accounts, many Scots priests believed that Martin Luther had written the New Testament due, some think, to the simultaneity of an edition of the psalter published by Luther, and Erasmus's Greek New Testament, published in Scotland in 1516.²⁴

What aspects of the curricular reforms are rhetorical, and what evidence do we have of the curriculum as a curriculum? We have Ramus's and Buchanan's discussions — sometimes invectives — concerning education and curriculum. We also have Buchanan's and Melville's outlines for the revised curriculum. The centrality of an improved, more extensive mastery of Greek and Latin literature to these movements is unquestionable. Erasmus, Ramus, Buchanan, and their colleagues sought first and foremost to recover the Latin language

[...] from the corruption into which it had fallen in the hands of the later schoolmen. With language in the state to which it had come by the middle of the fifteenth century, just thinking on any subject whatever was an impossibility. In the study of the Latin and Greek classics, therefore, men found the very discipline they needed to rationalize their modes of speech, and so eventually to train them to right methods in the general search for truth.²⁵

Melville's 1579 plan for establishing St Mary's College at St Andrews as a theological college marks the difference between Buchanan's ideal of a liberal (arts, humanities) education and a more narrow theological curriculum based primarily in biblical languages — a model not unlike earlier scholastic curricula but adapted to the Protestant goals of reading the Bible in its original tongues. Melville's plan followed a sequence of biblical languages: a five-year course with five professors in the theological college: first, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; second, application of these languages to the critical explanation of the Pentateuch and historical books; fourth, comparison of the Greek Testament with the Syriac version; and fifth, lectures on systematic divinity. In contrast, Buchanan's curriculum 'would have ensured what even to-day would be no inadequate equipment for the minister of any church — a thorough knowledge

²⁴ Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, p. 87, n. 1: 'Buchanan himself tells us that many of the monks believed that Luther was the author of the New Testament — *Rer. Scot. Hist.* lib. xv, p. 292. The testimony of Boece and Major regarding the ignorance of the clergy is in the same direction.' Acts of Parliament in 1525 and 1535 forbade the importation of Lutheran books, testifying to their presence.

²⁵ Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', p. 4.

of the Greek and Latin classics, crowned by a similar knowledge of the sources of his religion.'26

Neither Buchanan's nor Melville's curriculum was fully adopted. Melville's came to be recognized as the primary source of the reforms at St Andrews and Glasgow, and the University of Edinburgh at its founding in the 1580s. But Melville's original plan, placing biblical languages at the centre of the undergraduate curriculum, did not prevail. Regardless, Buchanan's 1563 scheme and its rationale are valuable as a record of both continuities and discontinuities with Ramism. Unlike Ramus, or most reports of Ramus that have come down to us, Buchanan was only tangentially and peripherally involved in curricular reforms directed against the 'scholastics'. Melville's method of instruction continued to be called 'scholastic' insofar as it retained the trivium subjects in their customary sequence, and focused on dialectical logic suitable for doctrinal exposition. In contrast, Buchanan's plan for St Andrews advanced — in response to what, we must conjecture and reconstruct — a more integrated curriculum in which the movement from grammar to rhetoric to logic/dialectic formed a more 'natural' sequence, both of difficulty in levels of learning, and in sequences of thought and reasoning. Only after ample and thoughtful reading should rhetorical composition be undertaken; only after thoughtful practice in literary and rhetorical composition had been mastered should the more rule-governed structures of logic be deployed in disputations. The dialogue between Buchanan and his young pupil Maitland in De Jure illustrates forms of 'disputation' encouraged in Buchanan's curriculum that were closer to the 'literary' dialogues of Plato and Cicero than to the question-and-answer dialectical doctrinal arguments of the late medieval schools.

Buchanan's Literary Rhetoric: The Restoration of Latin and the Reform of Schooling

George Buchanan's reform and revival of Latin can be best observed in two places: his own literary-rhetorical practice, and his revision of the curriculum at St Andrews, where he proposed extensive study of Greek and Latin literature as the core of the undergraduate course of study. Although challenged by reformers, including Melville, who wanted the study of biblical languages to take precedence, Buchanan insisted on a fluency in Greek and Latin classical learning.

²⁶ Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', pp. 4–5. Brown's summary of Melville's curriculum omits year three.

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Like Cicero's and Ramus's, Buchanan's emphasis on wide reading of classical literature did not begin with a rudimentary course in grammar or a set of memorized quotations for easy reference in rhetorical compositions. The excerpt and memorization model was precisely what Buchanan and Ramus alike objected to in the scholastic pedagogues Ramus derisively calls the 'Ciceronians'. Buchanan clearly intended students to master and compose the major genres of the classical canon comprised in the rhetorical curriculum, beginning with the course in grammar: poetry, dramas, histories, philosophy, comparative religion, politics. Objections to Buchanan's curriculum included 'that its author had his attention too exclusively directed to the cultivation of languages and humanity.'27 Several issues emerge in these proposals and objections. Buchanan did not think that biblical languages should supplant classical languages at the centre of the undergraduate curriculum, and proposed instead a return to Greek and Latin rhetorical education, comprising close reading, translation, interpretation, and composition as an instrument of clear thinking. Theology, like law and medicine, should remain post-baccalaureate curricula. Further, the forms of debate imparted even by the undergraduate curriculum should improve upon the distorted and technical modes of argumentation that the schoolmen, the 'scholastics', had devised. The Latin style taught and practised by the medieval schoolmen had become 'far removed from the Latin of Cicero and Virgil — a technical and scientific language of philosophy.28

The curricular innovations of Ramus and Buchanan reveal how extensively the recovery and study of Greek and Latin classical literature exposed the difference between Cicero and the 'Ciceronians', and between Aristotle and the 'Aristotelians'. Similarly, when Erasmus's Greek edition of the New Testament was published in 1516 it became a threat to the Church authorities who began increasingly to fight the humanists within the universities, Ramus and Buchanan among them. Alongside other humanists, they 'braved the hostility of the church who believed the authority of their interpretation of the New Testament based on the Vulgate would be threatened by the infusion of Greek and Hebrew scholars. Medieval Latin had accomplished much but declined rhetorical flourishes in attempting the unambiguous statement of truth'. Scholasticism, with its dry logical formulas and sentences, has come to represent the antithesis of 'literary' humanism. But lest we too quickly regress into reciting the uncomplicated ver-

²⁷ Brown's commentary in Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', p. 4.

²⁸ Broadie, *The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 74.

²⁹ Broadie, *The Tradition of Scottish Philosophy*, p. 75.

sion of the war between rhetoric as logic and rhetoric as poetics, Ramist plain style versus literary and rhetorical 'flourishes' that have no place in the worlds of church and state, let us take another look at the numerous rearrangements of rhetoric and poetics, logic and literature, that were developed in Buchanan's curriculum, and at his literary and pedagogical practices preceding the St Andrews proposal of 1563.

Curriculum and Practice, Inside and Outside the Schools

What, exactly, did Buchanan practise and what did he teach? Recent reappraisals of late medieval and Renaissance Ciceronianism(s), first and foremost John O. Ward's many forays into this territory, help contextualize numerous relationships between Buchanan's literary and classroom practices. Rita Copeland's explorations of early Wycliffite Ciceronianism and Augustinianism are particularly instructive regarding the early English and Scottish reformers.³⁰ Before the emergence of vernacular literature and liturgy in Scots, but just barely, Buchanan's highly acclaimed Latin paraphrases of the Psalms (1551) preceded Mary and Philip Sidney's English edition of the Psalms (1596–99) and improved upon the Latin Scottish psalter of 1516. Buchanan's renowned fluency in multiple genres — translation, paraphrase, poetry, drama, dialogue, and history — is interesting in and of itself, but particularly as evidence of how he taught and practised humanism and humane letters. What were the rhetorical purposes and effects of these different genres? Did Buchanan continue to write in Latin because spoken — and written — Scottish vernacular was further from the vernacular English emerging in Wycliffe and Sidney, among others? Was it because a Scottish vernacular failed to circulate widely that Latin persisted alongside French as the literate literary language of educated Scots? In this lay an advantage of continuing communication with Europe, but the disadvantage of increasingly divided relations with England over vernacular orthography, liturgy, and literary and rhetori-

³⁰ Copeland, 'Wycliffite Ciceronianism'. Perhaps we can add to this model a Buchananite Ciceronianism which, while practised largely in Latin, paved the way for later vernacular Ciceronianisms shaped by mastery of Latin and Greek literature. Recent work on Ciceronianisms in later curricula challenge any easy contrasts between Ramist or plain style logic and a literary poetics based in the reduction of rhetoric to style, and suggest that these early reforms by Buchanan and others, although not always adopted, paved the way for vernacular and Enlightenment curricula that were resoundingly Ciceronian. See in particular Casey, 'From British Ciceronianism to American Baconianism'; Longaker, 'Idealism and Early American Rhetoric'; and Ziobro, 'Classical Education in Colonial America'.

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cal genres. Buchanan's career provides a case study of the gulf that continued to divide England and Scotland politically and culturally before, during, and after the Reformation.

When Buchanan completed his BA at St Andrews in 1525 he admired more than anything else John Mair's lectures on logic. He followed Mair to Paris in 1526, completed another BA and MA, and was appointed Regent in the College of Sainte Barbe. He resigned his regentship in 1531 to become to tutor to Gilbert, the third Earl of Cassilis, in western Scotland, where he completed the *Somnium*, his first poetic parody of the Franciscans, followed by the *Franciscianus* (1538) and *Patrioda Fratres*. In 1539 he fled to London following a general persecution of 'Lutherans' in Scotland by Archbishop Beaton, and thence back to Paris, only to encounter Beaton there as well, actively persecuting the heretics among the faculty.

Invited by André de Gouvea to the Collège de Guyenne, a centre of the new learning at Bordeaux in the early 1540s, Buchanan completed Latin translations of Euripides' Alcestis and Medea in fulfilment of the requirement that each professor compose one play per year to be performed by the students in his charge. Among Buchanan's students was Michel de Montaigne. While at Bordeaux he befriended Scaliger, and in 1540-41 completed the dramas Baptistes (sive Columnia) and Jephthes (sive Votum). These modernizations of biblical stories were composed to advance and teach the humanist project of pietas literata. He left Bordeaux when religious schisms began to join curricular battles and resulted in the executions of heretics. In 1547 Buchanan was invited to the University of Coimbra in Portugal, recently redesigned by King John III along the lines of the new learning. But within a year, the Jesuits and the Inquisition brought charges against him based on his much earlier satirical lampoon of the Franciscans, Franciscianus, and newer accusations that he favoured Lutheran and Judaist practices. While imprisoned for six months, he spent the time composing paraphrases of the Psalms which were acclaimed soon after their publication as the most exemplary ever completed, an epitome of the new humanistic synthesis of classical eloquence with biblical erudition. In addition to treatments of John the Baptist and Jephthah, Buchanan's dramas included a translation of *Iphigenia* in which many saw a close parallel to the Jephthah theme: an indictment of priests for sanctioning human sacrifice. Many readers of Baptistes had seen in it an allegorical treatment of Thomas More's betrayal and execution by Henry VIII, an interpretation never vindicated until the details of Buchanan's trial in Portugal were published in 1907.³¹ In 1553, after his release from prison, Buchanan began

³¹ See Buchanan, *Tragedies*, ed. by Sharratt and Walsh, pp. 13–17. The editors add that although it is easy today, and was common in the Enlightenment, to read these dramas as

two years of service as regent at the college at Boncourt, and then served as tutor to the son of Marchal de Brissac. Increasing persecution of Protestants in France by Francis I in 1558–59 led to his return to Scotland, where he served as tutor and advisor to Mary Stuart. Buchanan supported Mary's forced abdication after the murder of her husband Darnley, and was asked in 1563 by the new Protestant party to revise the curriculum of his alma mater, St Andrews. What can we learn about Buchanan's Ciceronianism(s) from an examination of his peripatetic career as a teacher and renowned scholar?³²

Inside the schools Buchanan advocated wide reading and clear thinking, an avoidance of the dry logics and analytic techniques of scholastic dialectic, and a mastery of classical genres: poetry, drama, history, and orations. Much as they would be in later Scottish Enlightenment schools, students in Buchanan's 'St Andros' would move quickly from a reading knowledge of Greek and Latin to an emulation of the models that the literature contained. Like the vernacular neoclassicism of the eighteenth century, Buchanan's Latin translations and literary works included not only emulation of classical models but adaptation of them to current issues, events, and topics, such as corrupt clergy or tyrannical rulers. Through his published work, his curricular innovations, and his pedagogical practices, Buchanan joined other figures, including Erasmus and Montaigne, in creating a curriculum for the culture at large in the manner of Cicero and Seneca.

celebrations of individual conscience, it is just as likely that the pre-eminently literary Buchanan was more motivated by the emulation of classical modes of satire and irony and with integrating classical with biblical themes and ideas.

³² I concur here with the work of Ward, Camargo, Copeland, Marjorie Curry Woods, and others who call for a revision in our understanding of Ciceronian humanism, most especially at the dawn of, and as the context for, early vernacular literature and rhetoric. I would extend this call for revision to the Scottish Enlightenment schools of the eighteenth century, for in many histories, like the earlier medieval and Renaissance schools whose history is reviewed by Ward, Camargo, and Woods, they are often measured by a simplistic standard of whether or not they 'taught' works of 'primary' rhetoric: Aristotle's Rhetoric, Cicero's De inventione, etc. The point is that 'secondary' rhetoric, so called, or what George A. Kennedy styles letteraturizzazione, had become the vehicle for actual rhetoric, for rhetoric-become-literature had become suasive and active in the pedagogical, cultural, religious, and political spheres; see Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric, pp. 5–17, 108–19. See especially Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric'. The histories of Harry Caplan, Wilbur Samuel Howell, and Charles Sears Baldwin, among others noted by Camargo, continue to encourage the use of the 'original but reductive' classical model as a measure of what was 'taught' even in 'Ciceronian' rhetoric. Ong's work on Ramus sometimes drifts in this direction as well. A recent example of this method is Casey, 'From British Ciceronianism to American Baconianism'.

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And what was the 'manner of Cicero'? Fluency of styles and genres; being able to 'say' the 'same' thing in a number of different registers: history, poetry, drama, dialogue, philosophy, comparative religion. We are not talking here of Cicero's *De inventione*, or the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, so popular in the medieval period. The genres Buchanan used were even more complex than we usually give them credit for: *Baptistes* is a verse drama, while *De Jure* has many poetic and rhetorical moments, just as Plato's and Cicero's dialogues do. During the sixteenth century, Latin works like Buchanan's and Erasmus's became widely read among scholars, literati, and courtiers throughout Europe. Buchanan's political dialogue with young Maitland, *De Jure*, was dedicated to the young King James as an exercise in political and rhetorical diplomacy. The curriculum proposal for St Andrews University presents an unusually detailed record of a curriculum in transition, and one that was intended to produce ever more erudition outside the classroom.

A six-class, three-year sequence is outlined briefly in Buchanan's St Andrews proposal, numbered from 'Classe VI through Fyrst Classe', the 'Fyrst Classe' being the last. In what was chronologically the first class, the readings began with Terence as the object of elementary translation exercises. Instruction would proceed by declining nouns, conjugating verbs, copying from a text read aloud by the regent, to get the accents and pronunciation correct, then, translation: 'the bairns sal geif the interpretation in Scottis correspondant to the Latin.' Taking down the dictation of the text by the teacher, reading back the text once written, identifying the nouns and verbs, translating into the vernacular, each student would also be 'constraint to speik Latin, and dayly to compone sum small thyng eftyr thair capacite.'33 In the second class, Cicero's 'maist facil' letters were added to Terence, with reading and translating aloud, noting the rules of grammar, but 'without commentair'. The letters and elegies of Ovid were added in the third class, with compositions assigned on the topic of noting cumulatively themes recurring across all the readings. In the fourth class, Greek grammar was introduced, followed by more epistles of Cicero and his 'maist facil orations', 'sum buk' of Ovid, 'sum introduction of rhetorik. and sum of the bukis of Linaceris grammar', accompanied throughout the year by more compositions than in any previous class. In the fifth and sixth classes, students progressed to

reid the rethorikis of Cicero, and hys orationis, and for poetis, Virgil, Horace, Ouide, and sum of Homer or Hesiode. The auditouris salbe diligently exercisit in verse, and oration, and declamation euery moneth. Generally disputations to be had

³³ Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', pp. 8–9.

euery Satterday fra ane efter none to four houris, ane classe aganis ane other, fixing themis alternatim, and syne componing on themis ditit be regentis of other classis or other maisters.³⁴

It is noteworthy that study of Cicero's rhetoric does not come until after some of the 'facil' orations of Cicero have already been mastered. The instructions Buchanan provides for the oral rhetorical practice of 'St Andros' students are telling as well: 'The thre law classis sal nocht be subject to cum to preaching or exercise public, except on the Sonday. The other preachyng and exercise days, ane regent salbe committit to se that thay be dewly exercisit and specialy in lerning to writ.' May we deduce from this that students other than the 'thre law classis' would be required to attend preaching and public exercise?

'On Satterday euery classe sal propone certaine propositions, quhilk afoir none sal be examinat and disput againe be the regentis bertuix viij and xj howris; and eftyr none the disciples of the superiour classe sal disput aganis the inferiouir betwix ane and thre howris.' Listening to orations and disputations, reading Cicero's orations before his rhetoric, daily written compositions, weekly oral compositions and moots — taken together these formed a constant cycle of hearing, writing what had been heard, reading that back, and composing in both written and oral genres. The role of reading as we usually think of it played a minimal role in this curricular model, focused as it was on memorization and mastery of entire works, and through that process an assimilation of both their content and their styles. Classical literature functioned in these classrooms as a collective oral and written milieu, a body of knowledge, but also as the basis for practice, composition, and improvization.³⁷

 $^{^{34}\,}$ Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', pp. 9–10.

 $^{^{\}rm 35}$ Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', p. 11.

³⁶ Buchanan, 'Opinion Anent the Reformation', p. 13.

³⁷ In Masson, *Memories of Two Cities*, pp. 256–59, David Masson recounts the grammar school curriculum of the early nineteenth century in a continuum with the Latin literary education created by the Scottish humanists of the sixteenth century. Among the historical readings were Caesar and Livy; among the poets, Virgil, Horace, and Buchanan's Psalms. Each sentence was gone over five times: read aloud, translated word for word, rendered more freely and elegantly, analysed etymologically, analysed by syntax and idiom, moods and cases, and scanned.

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Erasmus, Buchanan's Scotland, and the Reading Cultures of Early Protestantism

One of the first works addressed to the newly literate merchant or 'middling' class was Erasmus's Handbook of the Christian Soldier, first published in 1503. By 1515 it had become a bestseller and was translated into a number of European vernaculars. 'The work was a demand for reform — but it was more than that. It set out a vision of the church of the future in which the laity would play a larger role, seize power and influence from the discredited clergy.'38 Erasmus spoke to the new merchant class which had become dissatisfied with the older hierarchies of feudalism, serfdom, and church authority. They sought a form of Christianity that was relevant to their personal experiences and private worlds. This taste for what we now call individualism had been shaped by many forces that scholars continue to debate: was the Reformation a result of mercantile capitalism, or its cause?³⁹ Did newly literate merchant classes, particularly given their cultural mobility along trade routes, begin to question church as well as civil authorities as they travelled and saw the ways of other countries? Were they the first products, outside the schools, of the humanist educators? Finally, how did classical literature function in their 'curriculum'?

Like Erasmus's, Buchanan's insistence upon close reading of Greek and Latin 'literary' texts, including histories, poetry, dialogues, political treatises, and essays, marks a continuation of the best Ciceronian traditions in both rhetoric and dialectic, particularly if we include in dialectic the model of Plato's and Cicero's dialogues, the model emulated by Buchanan's *De Jure*. Vernacular essays, among them Montaigne's, stimulated meditative prose traditions that both revived the classical practices of Seneca and the Stoic philosophers, among others, and encouraged reflection and interpretation, and ethical applications adapted to Protestant hermeneutic and homiletic practices. Encouragement of post-reading experiences — interpretation, application, and further debate and discussion — reflects the success of the Buchananite curriculum in practices he never defined but which are nonetheless embodied in the multiple genres he deployed.

³⁸ McGrath, In the Beginning, p. 39.

³⁹ There are competing accounts of the rise of Protestantism, individualism, and capitalism. In *Listening for the Text*, Brian Stock tackles Max Weber's thesis linking Protestantism, capitalism, and individualism by illuminating the number of different readerships, 'communities of readers', who from classical times onwards shaped the meanings and understandings of their core texts. Simpson's recent *Burning to Read* emphasizes the increasing intolerance fostered by Protestant literacies among semi-literate populations who, according to Simpson, founded the practice of 'literal reading' of scripture (and other texts). Somewhat like Ong, Simpson at times oversimplifies the simplified practices he attributes to first-generation Protestants.

The proof is in the pudding. Milton's On Christian Doctrine, which begins with a seemingly Ramist taxonomy of the schemes and tropes of scripture, also represents an extension of the project begun by Augustine and continued by Bede: to replace all the rhetorical exempla in classical rhetorical handbooks with biblical examples. Isaac Watts, the great hymn writer, also composed a treatise on logic widely reprinted in the seventeenth century and used in English dissenter academies as a part of the vernacular rhetorical curriculum, well ahead of any use of English as a language of instruction at Oxford and Cambridge. These and other examples of ongoing adaptations of classical curricula in vernacular classrooms merit more attention than they have received. The seventeenthcentury history of the Scottish universities invites further study as an interim period following Buchanan's and Melville's reforms and preceding the energetic advances made through the curriculum in Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy by Francis Hutcheson, his student Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid. 40 Connecting the dots between that curriculum, Ramism, and Buchanan's unrealized St Andros reforms is a project that remains to be completed. Melville's curricular reforms emphasized more the scholastic forms of logic and less the literary and rhetorical humanism that Buchanan had included in his curriculum. Understandably so, for Melville and his colleagues were among the architects of a transnational Calvinist curriculum that would emphasize exegesis and doctrinal homiletics over the production of literary and rhetorical works. Never as solidly Aristotelian or Ramist as the English universities, Scotland's schools awaited their own distinctive enlightenment in the early eighteenth century to revive the Ciceronian humanism that Buchanan had attempted to implant in St Andros. His proposal gives us a rare record of Renaissance humanism inside the university curriculum.

⁴⁰ Broadie provides an outstanding account of seventeenth-century Scottish reforms in the curriculum in logic and rhetoric under the guidance of Gershom Carmichael in Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, pp. 104–46.

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'NO TERENCE PHRASE: HIS TYME AND MYNE ARE TWAINE': ERASMUS, TERENCE, AND CENSORSHIP IN THE TUDOR CLASSROOM

Ursula Potter

n T. W. Baldwin's analysis of Shakespeare's classical learning, he exposes the ideological battles waged in sixteenth-century England over the role of literature in the curriculum. He sums up the opposing forces in the eminent humanist figures of Juan Luis Vives of Valencia and Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam: 'The spirit of Erasmus is nearly always genuinely and distinctly literary—Renaissance. There is little of this life and literature in the Exercitatio of Vives.' Vives's first priority was piety and practical moral training and he was suspicious of literature as a potentially corrupting influence on boys. His pedagogical programmes reflect this, notably in his advice on the teaching of *elocutio*, which he supports for voice training and even gesture, but not for acting in stage plays, a common practice in many Tudor grammar schools.² Erasmus, on the other hand, was passionate about literature in general and drama in particular as an inspirational pedagogical tool. The tensions between these two conflicting ideologies are well illustrated by tracing the fortunes of Terence, the Roman poet, in Tudor grammar schools through sixteenth-century commentaries, school curricula, and one 1575 piece of school drama.

Terence had long been a staple of the curriculum in medieval schools despite reservations voiced by early Church Fathers as to his moral propriety for young

¹ Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, 1, 744.

² Norland, 'Vives' Critical View of Drama', p. 103.

schoolboys.³ The first known attempt to purge Terence along Christian principles for classroom consumption comes from the tenth-century nun, Hrotsvit of Gandersheim.⁴ Hrotsvit's concern may have had less to do with the sinful behaviour of Terence's male characters than with repudiating his negative depiction of women for the benefit of young nuns.⁵ It is not until the early sixteenth century and the increasing availability of printed pedagogical material that we find evidence of a concerted move to expurgate Terence for classroom use in the English context.

Much of this evidence comes from Erasmus, a stalwart defender of Terence, without whom the plays of Terence are unlikely to have withstood censorship demands in Reformation England, or subsequently to have become, together with Plautus, one of the defining models for future English comedy. Although both poets share in this development, Plautus seems to have slipped off the curriculum in many schools, accused of including material considered unseemly for boys, whereas Terence, who was similarly accused, managed to maintain a stronghold, for which we can thank Erasmus.⁶ Erasmus not only defended the use of Terence in the classroom, but drew on Terence repeatedly for his own prolific output of pedagogical material, much of which was used in Tudor schools.⁷ As a result, Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists were beneficiaries of a Tudor grammar school education steeped in Terence, and none more so than Shakespeare, who became known in Jacobean circles as 'our English Terence'.⁸ In an anecdote from student life, Erasmus claims that while he was at boarding school he learned all the works of Terence off by heart, secretly, at night.⁹

³ For the pedagogical traditions of Terence through the Middle Ages to the fifteenth century see Villa, *La 'lectura Terentii'*.

⁴ Terence, *The Comedies*, ed. by Radice, p. 22.

⁵ Wilson, *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, pp. 77–78.

⁶ Erasmus did not give Plautus the same unreserved defence he gave Terence. When he lists recommended authors in *De ratione studii* (On the Method of Study) his support is qualified: 'Huic si quis aliquot selectas Plauti comoedias putet addendas quae vacent obscoenitate, equidem nihil repugno' (Should someone think that a few, selected comedies of Plautus, free from impropriety, should be added to the above, I would personally not demur). Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Margolin, p. 116; Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Thompson, p. 669.

⁷ Baldwin's two major studies of Shakespeare, Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, and Baldwin, *Shakspere's Five-Act Structure*, demonstrate just how fundamental both Terence and Erasmus are to Shakespearean drama.

 $^{^{\}rm 8}$ Davies, 'To our English Terence Mr. Will', p. 26.

⁹ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Thompson, p. 669, n. 10.



Figure 1. This woodcut from a 1493 commentary on Terence illustrates the role of theatre as a forum for depicting both virtues and vices. From Guidonis Juvenalis, natione Cenomani, *In Terentium familiarissima interpretatio* (Lyon: Johannis Trechsel, 1493).

Photo courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago, folio Inc. 8602.

Baldwin does not claim that Shakespeare knew Terence 'without book' (off by heart), but he demonstrates that Shakespeare was familiar with all the plays and the popular lower-school study aid, *Floures for Latin speaking* [...] *gathered out of Terence* (1534), compiled by Nicholas Udall, schoolmaster and playwright. As it would turn out, Shakespeare's plays would share similar fortunes to those of Terence: the works of both poets featured as canonical elements of English school curricula over a period of several centuries, both poets suffered discrimination for their limited education, and both faced periods of censorship and expurgation. The sixteenth-century move to Christianize Terence for classroom use is echoed in the early nineteenth-century move to adapt and expurgate Shakespeare for the use of children, most famously in the editions authored by Charles and Mary Lamb, and by Henrietta and Thomas Bowdler. The works of both poets have survived intact, and in the case of Shakespeare, those elements that were deemed inappropriate for young minds, such as the sexual punning and bawdy humour, received new interest in the late twentieth century.

Erasmus regarded the exposition of sexual and other carnal vices by Terence as integral to the poet's appeal and usefulness in the (all male) classroom. For other humanists of the time, however, these vices, together with the poet's humble, pagan origins – his epithet was 'Terence the unlearned'¹³ – were enough to argue his inappropriateness in a Christian classroom. As one schoolmaster, the Calvinist Sebastien Castellion, observed of this quandary: 'Isn't it lamentable that we are thereby reduced to familiarising young children with scenes of immorality?' Castellion made this comment in a letter prefixed to his *Dialogi Sacri* sent to Corderius, his predecessor in the Geneva school. Both men published collections of Latin dialogues to be used as classroom alternatives to Terence and Plautus. In Castellion's case, the *Dialogi Sacri* (1543) consist of the history of the Bible in 119 dialogues of colloquial Latin.¹⁴

¹⁰ Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 1, 641. Baldwin highlights the influence of Erasmus in Udall's sources (Baldwin, *Shakspere's Five-Act Structure*, pp. 377–78).

¹¹ John Dryden, for example, felt it necessary to defend Shakespeare against those who accused him of 'want of learning'. I am grateful to Kate Flaherty, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Sydney, for this information presented at an English Department research seminar, August 2008.

¹² Ziegler, 'Introducing Shakespeare', p. 145.

¹³ Lupton, *All for Money*, ed. by Farmer, fol. Aiii^v.

¹⁴ Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, I, 159: 'N'est-il pas lamentable d'en être réduit à familiariser des enfants de cet âge avec des scènes d'immoralité' (my translation).

Vives, a pious Spaniard, also made it clear he would prefer Plautus and Terence to be replaced with Christian authors, or at least to be expurgated: 'I should like to see cut out of both of these writers all those parts which could taint the minds of boys with vices, to which our natures approach by the encouragement, as it were, of a nod.' His approach to poetry in general is decidedly negative:

Reliance on the poets personally must be weakened. They had great natural advantages by their inspiration, but still they were men of ordinary capacity, often with no learning or experience of life, or at any rate very little; besides they were slaves to evil passions and tainted with vice. ¹⁶

The strength of scholarly support for heathen poets in the classroom may have eventually deterred Vives from saying more: 'There has been a long and varied dispute on this subject'. Yet such is his desire to cleanse poetry that he frames the need for an expurgated version of Terence as of universal benefit to the future of the art: 'Whoever will undertake this expurgation will do a great service not only to his contemporaries and to posterity, but also to poetry itself and to poets.' Ultimately, Vives concedes to a higher authority — and we can reasonably assume that higher authority is Erasmus: 'If this cannot be done, at least, let some man show us the way, a man not only well furnished with learning, but also a man of honour and of practical wisdom whom we trust as a leader.'

Joan Simon suggests Erasmus was just such a man but if that was Vives's intention, it cannot have been expressed with much hope.²⁰ Rather, it begs the ques-

¹⁵ Vives, *De disciplinis* (1612), pp. 294–95 (images 164–65): 'Ex vtroque cuperem resecta, quæ pueriles animos ijs vitijs possent polluere, ad quæ naturæ quasi nutu quodam vergimus'. English translation from Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, p. 136.

¹⁶ Vives, *De disciplinis* (1612), p. 289, image 162: 'Ipsis quoque poetis fides eleuanda, multum quidem valuisse eos natura, ac spiritu, sed homines tamen fuisse mediocri iudicio, doctrina verò & vsu rerum sæpe nullo, aut certè perquàm exiguo: tum anìmi perturbationibus obnoxious [this word unclear on the electronic version] ac seruientes, vitijs inquinatos'; Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, p. 129.

¹⁷ Vives, *De disciplinis* (1612), p. 287, image 161: 'de qua quæstione tametsi longa disputatio est, & varia'; Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, p. 126.

¹⁸ Vives, *De disciplinis* (1612), p. 289, image 162: 'Vtique non de præsentibus modò, ac posteris præclarè merebitur, sed de poetica arte, ac poetis ipsis, quisquis eam repurgationem erit aggressus'; Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, p. 128.

¹⁹ Vives, *De disciplinis* (1612), p. 241, image 137: 'Quod perfici si non potest, saltem præeat viam vir aliquis non solùm eruditione præditus, sed probitate etiam ac prudentia, cui nos credamus tanquam duci'; Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, p. 52.

²⁰ Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, p. 110.

tion as to why Vives himself did not produce expurgated versions. Did he feel obliged to leave well alone for fear of incurring criticism from Erasmus? Erasmus had been critical of aspects of Vives's work on St Augustine's *Civitas Dei* (1522) and *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1523), and the two clearly disagreed on issues to do with sex.²¹ A few years later Vives did publish his own school dialogues, *Linguae latinae exercitatio* (1538), undoubtedly as an alternative to Terence, and they became immensely popular in England. In Spain, when many of the colloquies of Erasmus were deemed politically dangerous, it was Vives's *Exercitatio* that replaced them.²²

Terence and his Reception in Tudor England

Publius Terentius Afer was born at Carthage around 186 BC; he was brought to Rome as a young slave. According to Roman tradition, his talents and good looks won him an education, manumission, and entry to a patrician literary circle with whose encouragement he wrote Latin comedies.²³ Only one, *The Eunuch*, was a popular success in his lifetime, but his future as a pedagogical author was assured by the fourth-century grammarian Donatus, who noted the usefulness of Terence in furnishing moral exempla, and who set the pattern for later commentators in the sixteenth century and well beyond.²⁴ Vives also voiced reservations about Donatus: 'In his conclusions he invented a great deal which never occurred to the minds of the writers themselves.'²⁵

Terence wrote only six plays: *The Girl from Andros, The Self-Tormentor, The Eunuch, Phormio, The Mother-in-Law*, and *The Brothers*. They all deal with *senex-adolescens* oppositions, usually a father—son relationship, and with the moral and sexual development of sons, and they frequently employ the same character

²¹ Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*, ed. by Margolin, p. 414: 'Nec audio qui mihi dicat foedam illam pruriginem et Veneris stimulos non a natura, sed a peccato profectam. Quid tam dissimile veri?' ('I have no patience with those who say that sexual excitement is shameful and that venereal stimuli have their origin not in nature, but in sin. Nothing is so far from the truth'); Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*, trans. by Fantazzi, p. 136. See also Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, 'Introduction', pp. lxxxviii–xci.

²² Norland, 'Vives' Critical View of Drama', pp. 100-05.

²³ Terence, *The Comedies*, ed. by Radice, p. 1.

²⁴ For discussion on the later commentaries, see Robbins, *Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence*, pp. 12–16.

²⁵ Vives, *Dedisciplinis* (1612), p. 307, image 171: 'sicut in consiliis comminiscitur plurima. quæ numquàm scriptoribus in mentem venerant'; Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, pp. 160–61.

names (for example, Chremes, Menedemus), a technique explicated and appropriated by Erasmus. Terence took his material from Menander and Apollodorus, translating Greek comedy into the Roman world, and he turned stock characters — the typical irascible father, irresponsible youth, courtesan, and servants — into sympathetic human individuals caught up in complex plots. He wrote in a lucid, simple, yet elegant conversational Latin, and it was this quality in particular that brought his work into great favour as an educational tool in the Renaissance. Erasmus rates him first among Latin authors for teaching spoken Latin: 'Who is more valuable as a standard of language than Terence? He is pure, concise, and closest to everyday speech and then by the very nature of his subject-matter, is also congenial to the young.'²⁷

The plays of Terence turn on the moral dilemmas confronting sons in clandestine sexual relationships, and on fathers usually pursuing ambitious marriage plans for their sons. They depict sexual freedoms not easily sanctioned in Christian teachings: courtesans, mistresses, bigamy, and rape are the stuff of Terence's plots and the source of conflict for Renaissance pedagogues. Erasmus understood the value of providing students with lively, down-to-earth, and engaging material, as his colloquies amply attest, and to the moral lessons imparted with them. Thomas Elyot, author of the well-known *The Book Named The Governor* (1531), concurs: 'And if the vices in [the comedies] expressed should be cause that minds of the readers should be corrupted, then by the same argument not only interludes in English, but also sermons, wherein some vice is declared, should be to the beholders and hearers like occasion to increase sinners.' His reference to interludes reflects the pedagogical function of drama in schools. Others in England, such as Roger Ascham, expressed their reservations:

And thus for matter, both Plautus and Terence be like meane painters that worke by halfes, and be cunning onelie, in making the worst part of the picture, as if one were skilfull in painting the bodie of a naked person, from the navell downward, but nothing else.

Ascham accepts prevailing opinion on the value of Terence, but goes to some lengths to note his faults and ultimately argues that Terence and Plautus are

²⁶ Terence, *The Comedies*, ed. by Radice, pp. 16–20 and 28.

²⁷ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Margolin, pp. 115–16: 'Rursum inter latinos quis vtilior loquendi auctor quam Terentius? Purus, tersus et quotidiano sermoni proximus, tum ipso quoque argumenti genere iucundus adolescentiæ'; Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Thompson, p. 682.

²⁸ Elyot, *The Book Named 'The Governor'*, ed. by Lehmberg (1531), pp. 47–48.

'base stuff for that scholar, that should cum hereafter, either a good minister in Religion, or a Civil Gentleman.'²⁹ One of the prime functions of higher education in the sixteenth century was to train scholars 'to be a good minister', and much of the criticism of Terence did come from clerical sources whose concerns were with the extensive use of pagan authors in a Christian curriculum. According to William Tyndale, looking back around 1530, church ministers were the most outspoken adversaries of Terence in the classroom:

Remember ye not how within this 30 years and far less, and yet dureth unto this day, the old barking curs, Duns' disciples and like draff called Scotists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and what sorrow the schoolmasters that taught the true Latin tongue had with them; some beating the pulpit with their fists for madness, and roaring with open and foaming mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burn them therein, though it should cost them their lives.³⁰

Tyndale exposes the problems such public condemnations presented in the class-room. Already in the 1518 statutes for St Paul's School, London, we can see the dilemma confronting school governors wishing to teach the true Latin tongue. John Colet, the founder of St Paul's, stresses the need to teach a pure, unadulterated Latin — 'the varay Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgil and Terence was usid' — but feels impelled to justify this choice of authors with 'whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes'. Colet was essentially a man of the Reformation and not of the Renaissance, but he put his faith in the guidance of Erasmus when it came to education, sometimes to his cost, as he tells Erasmus:

I hear that a bishop, who is regarded as one of the wiser sort, in a great meeting of people, took our school to task, and said that I had founded a useless and indeed a mischievous thing, in fact, to use his own words, a house of Idolatry. I believe that he said this, because the Poets are read there!³²

²⁹ Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570), pp. 59–63.

³⁰ Tyndale, *The Work of William Tindale*, ed. by Greenslade, p. 93, my emphasis. From an exchange between Tyndale and Thomas More, whose brother-in-law, John Rastell, published *The Girl from Andros* in English.

³¹ Lupton, A Life of John Colet, Appendix A, pp. 271–84 (pp. 279–80).

³² Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, 1, 78.

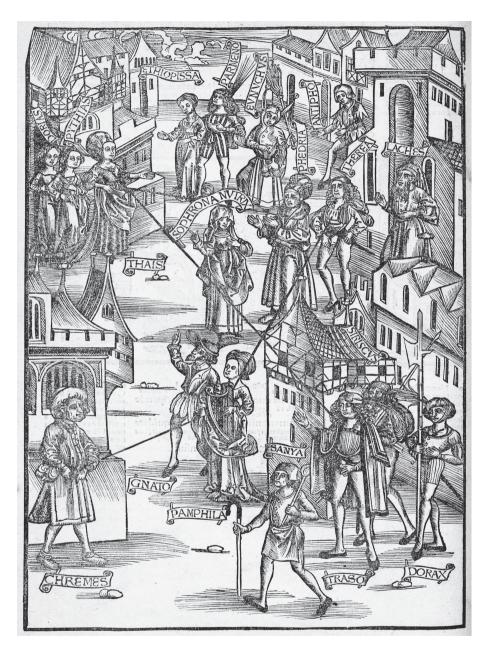


Figure 2. Erasmus argued for Terence as an ideal source for portrayal of character.

From *Terentius cum directorio vocabularium sententiarum artis comice, glosa interlineali, comentarijs, Donato Guido Ascensio* (Strasbourg: Grüniger, 1499).

Reproduced by permission of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Colet's collaboration with Erasmus probably kept many other critics silent, and there can be little doubt that with two such eminent names behind its curriculum, St Paul's School can be held responsible for retaining Terence in English grammar schools.

Erasmus and Tudor School Curricula

Early in the 1500s, Colet asked Erasmus for his opinion on the curriculum for St Paul's. Erasmus contributed his ideas on pedagogical methods and programmes and he also compiled material expressly for St Paul's, as the school statutes proudly proclaim: 'the *Institutum Christiani hominis* which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke called *Copia* of the same Erasmus', shall be used to 'induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech'. And since St Paul's School served as a model for literally scores, if not hundreds, of new grammar schools founded over the course of the sixteenth century, Erasmus, and with him Terence, entered ever more classrooms across the country.

According to the 1520 records of John Dorne of Oxford, the leading university bookseller, more copies of Terence and Cicero were sold that year than all other authors in the curriculum. These records also show that one in seven book buyers bought a work by Erasmus, with *De copia* topping the list.³⁴ The other most popular Erasmian texts in schools were *Colloquia*, *De conscribendis epistolis*, *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*, *De constructione* (a Latin syntax prepared by William Lily and amended by Erasmus in 1513),³⁵ and *Epistles* and *Adages* (in *Adages* alone there are over 250 references to Terence).³⁶ The two texts by Erasmus best represented in Tudor school curricula are the *De copia* and the *Colloquia*, both of which assume an intimate knowledge of the plays of Terence.

De copia ('Foundations of the Abundant Style') is without doubt the most popular school textbook of the period, habitually listed in school statutes, private collections, and university records.³⁷ It is a manual for infinite rhetorical variety in which Terence features prominently. Erasmus urges students to use Terence on three counts: as the best model of diction, as an ideal source for portrayal of character, and as a model for father–son relations.³⁸

³³ Lupton, A Life of John Colet, p. 279.

³⁴ Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, p. 86, n. 4.

³⁵ Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, p. 75.

³⁶ Terence, *The Comedies*, ed. by Radice, p. 25.

³⁷ Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. by Thompson, p. 283.

³⁸ Erasmus, *De copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. by Knott, pp. 121, 208, 238; Erasmus, *De duplici*

The second most popular title by Erasmus cited in school statutes is the *Colloquia*. This massive collection of colloquies contains hundreds of references to Terence and, as in *De copia*, Erasmus includes advice for teachers on how to use Terence for moral educational purposes: 'Terence's Demea showed plainly enough by his sudden change how important it is to humour everyone's inclinations [...] for the purpose of gaining good will.'³⁹ The *Colloquia* were lively and humourous, often colourful in their characterization, earthy in description, and frequently in the genre of trenchant satire targeting popish customs, religious hypocrisy, and uncivil manners. As with Terence, certain colloquies provoked public criticism. ⁴⁰ Such school texts by Erasmus survived institutional censure for much the same reasons as Terence did — the stature of their author, the quality of their Latin, their usefulness in appealing to schoolboys, and their ready availability through the printing press.

Under the influence of Erasmus, schoolboys would learn to use characters from Terence as similes and as adjectives: more boastful than Thraso, more confident than Phormio, harsher than Demea, Thrasonian boasting, Demean harshness. The tradition of illustrating the works of Terence, which has been traced back as far as the early fifth century, reinforced familiarity with characters and acted as an aid to performance. In the *De copia*, Erasmus specifically notes the usefulness of including gestures with characters. The teaching of *actio* was integral to the use of Terence in the classroom, and gestures — the language of the hands — as taught in Tudor England followed those in the illustrations, which, it has been argued, reflected Roman stage practice. When the founders of Ruthin

copia verborum ac rerum, ed. by Thompson, pp. 416, 584, 614–15.

- ⁴⁰ Erasmus, *The Colloquies*, trans. by Thompson, p. 629.
- ⁴¹ Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. by Thompson, pp. 389 and 395.
- ⁴² From a presentation by Professor Bernard Muir, University of Melbourne, *Tradition and Innovation in the Illustrating of Terence's Latin Comedies*, to the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 26 April 2007.
 - ⁴³ Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. by Thompson, p. 657.
- ⁴⁴ Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage*. Dodwell identifies six classical gestures: puzzlement, grief, acquiescence or approval, supplication, apprehension, and pondering (p. 154).

³⁹ Erasmus, *Colloquia*, ed. by Halkin, Bierlaire, and Hoven, p. 671: 'Attamen Demea ille Terentianus subito mutatus satis declarauit, quantum ad conciliandum beneuolentiam habeat momenti studiis et affectibus omnium obsequundare'; Erasmus, *The Colloquies*, trans. by Thompson, p. 968. The reader is of course expected to know the play in question (*The Tormentor*).

School in Wales specified in their statutes that scenes from Terence should be used to teach 'manner of Speaking and Gesture', they probably had in mind the tradition of illustrations as guides to oratorical performance.⁴⁵

Explicating Terence in the Classroom

Excerpts from Terence were commonly used in the teaching of Latin, often in a bilingual format, as in the late fifteenth-century compilation: *Vulgaria quedam abs Terrentio in Anglica linguam traducta*. ⁴⁶ But the study of Roman comedy in the Tudor classroom was principally a linguistic, rhetorical, and didactic enterprise aimed at lexical, metrical, and grammatical analysis. Jodochus Willichius, who prepared an edition used in English schools, considered each scene in Terence as an oration to be analysed according to conventional rhetorical schema. ⁴⁷ Peter Mack considers it likely that commentaries provided the main teaching materials for rhetorical analysis, and he uses as an example the marginal notes in a 1583 edition of Terence. ⁴⁸ When it comes to the suitability of Terence for schoolboy study in a Reformation climate, the student's age was probably one of the most relevant issues for parents and schoolmasters. Thomas Elyot addresses the issue as one of age and disposition:

Although I do not approve the lesson of wanton poets to be taught unto all children, yet think I convenient and necessary that, when the mind is become constant and courage is assuaged, or that children of their natural disposition be shamefaced and continent, none ancient poet would be excluded from the lesson of such one as desireth to come to the perfection of wisdom.⁴⁹

In general, school statues identify Terence as a lower school author for second or third forms, as at The King's School, Worcester, or Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich, or for second form use, as at Hull Grammar School which also listed the colloquies of Erasmus for the same form. Boys in these classes are likely to have been aged between twelve and fifteen, assuming an entry age of eleven or twelve as is specified in many statutes. Vives states that his plan of

⁴⁵ Sylvester, *Educational Documents*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Terence, *Vulgaria*. I am indebted to Merridee Bailey for alerting me to this popular vulgaria, cited in Chapter 7 of Bailey, 'Between the Household and the School'.

⁴⁷ Miola, Shakespeare and Classical Comedy, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Mack, Elizabethan Rhetoric, p. 39.

⁴⁹ Elyot, *The Book Named 'The Governor'*, ed. by Lehmberg, p. 50.

instruction was intended for boys of between six and fifteen, but there would have been few as young as six or even seven in English grammar schools.⁵⁰ In the junior school *Vulgaria* (1519) of William Hormon, which were written for Eton where Horman had been headmaster, the author includes such phrases as: 'Lende me thy Terence for this seuynnyght' and 'Lende me thy Terence for my brother'.⁵¹ This tells us that it was not unusual for young schoolboys to have their own copies of Terence, an assumption supported by surviving editions embellished with schoolboy sketches, jottings, and doggerel.⁵² Terence uncensored seems to have been acceptable for older boys but increasingly queried for the younger ones as the century progressed. One 1548 commentary (by Georgius Fabricius) suggests that for boys of an impressionable age, several exempla might be omitted from their studies, yet another in 1576 (by Nathan Chytraeus) maintains that it is better for boys to learn the truths of life vicariously at an early age through the reading of Terence, than to learn them later at the risk of reputation and fortune.⁵³

Erasmus frequently expresses frustration at the obtuseness of educators who had difficulties explicating Terence: 'What is more lucid than the language of Terence? Yet many do not understand him even with the aid of commentaries.' His explications can be seen in many editions of Terence, and his name appears in at least seven sixteenth-century commentaries.⁵⁴ Time and again he felt con-

⁵⁰ Vives, *On Education*, trans. by Watson, p. 151. Baldwin argues that boys entered lower school at the age of seven, however, it is worth remembering that it was not their age but their grounding in Latin grammar (*accidens*) that gained them entry to grammar school; see Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 1, 442.

⁵¹ Hormon, *Vulgaria* (London, 1519), p. 86°: 'Mutua mihi Terentium ad vel in septem dies non pro'; 'Mutua mihi terentium pro fratre'. Hormon was headmaster of Eton, and later of Winchester.

⁵² Holloway, 'Slaves and Princes', p. 8 of 14.

⁵³ Robbins, Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, pp. 32–34.

⁵⁴ Erasmus, De conscribendis epistolis, ed. by Margolin, p. 219; Erasmus, De conscribendis epistolis, trans. by Fantazzi, pp. 16–17: 'Quid Terentiano sermone luculentius? At hunc ne commentariis quidem adiuti, complures intelligent.' Erasmus is named as a contributor in the following commentaries: Comodias (Donatus, Asperus, Cornutus, Calphurnius, Erasmus) Antwerp, 1538; Comodiae VI (Donatus, Melanchthon, Erasmus, Rivius), Lyons, 1538; Comoediae sex (Donatus, Calphurnius, Erasmus), Paris, 1541; Comodiae sex (Melanchthon, Erasmus, Goveanus, Donatus, Calphurnius, Barlandus, Juvenalis, Latomus, Marsus, Rivius, Doletus, Glareanus), Venice, 1550; Comodiae (Melanchthon, Erasmus, Goveanus Scaliger, Faustus, Bembo, Donatus, Calphurnius, Barlandus, Latomus, Marsus, Rivius, Doletus, Glareanus, Theodoricus, Willichius), Paris, 1552; Terentius, in quem triplex edita est P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis commentatio (Melanchthon, Muretus, Malleolus, Hegendorphinus, Erasmus, Goveanus, Scaliger, Faustus, Bembo, Donatus,

strained to demonstrate that Terence could be used successfully to teach moral principles.⁵⁵ He outlined in some detail in *De ratione studii* how the master can achieve this, concluding that 'so it will come about (assuming mental agility on the teacher's part) that if some passage is encountered which may corrupt the young, far from its harming their morals it may in fact confer some benefit, namely by concentrating their attention, partly on annotation of the passage, partly on loftier thoughts'.⁵⁶ The proviso here is 'assuming mental agility'. Erasmus had little faith in the ability of schoolmasters; he was their most outspoken critic, accusing them of ignorance, incompetence, and cruelty, and he was by no means alone in his criticisms. It is almost a commonplace in Tudor pedagogical writings to call attention to the imperfections of schoolmasters, often under the epithet of 'tyrant'.⁵⁷

In the final analysis, as Tyndale pointed out, it was up to individual schoolmasters to decide how to handle the works of Terence in the classroom and to deal with any local controversy. Although school founders in their statutes, and patrons or governors could and did exert their own influence on programmes of studies, there is little evidence to suggest that Terence was cut from the curriculum. One known exception is East Retford grammar school, and Simon suggests there are likely to have been a handful of others.⁵⁸ Baldwin, too, concedes that 'it is probable that in spite of Erasmus many a preaching schoolmaster placed reformation above renaissance, but he points out that in a collection of more than two dozen curriculum lists, only one fails to mention Terence.⁵⁹ Several school statutes stress the need for clean, chaste poets, no Roman filthiness, and emphasize a Christian curriculum, but it is usually the quality of the Latin language they are targeting rather than content. The following statutes for Sir John Deane's School, Northwich, prepared c. 1560 (and reflecting the influence of St Paul's School), expose the inherent contradictions posed by a classical education attempting to conform to contemporary Reformation principles:

Calphurnius, Barlandus, Latomus, Marsus, Rivius, Doletus, Glareanus, Willichius), Lyons, 1560; *Comodiae Sex* (Donatus, Melanchthon, Erasmus), Frankfort on the Oder, 1575. See Robbins, *Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence*, pp. 114–15.

⁵⁵ Erasmus, *The Colloquies*, trans. by Thompson, pp. 111–12, n. 31.

⁵⁶ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Margolin, p. 139: 'Atque ita fiet (si modo sit ingenii dextri praeceptor), vt etiam si quid inciderit quod inficere possit aetatem illam, non solum non officiat moribus, verumetiam vtilitatem aliquam adferat, videlicet animis partim ad annotationem intentis, partim ad altiores cogitationes auocatis;' Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ed. by Thompson, p. 683.

⁵⁷ Potter, 'The Naming of Holofernes', pp. 14–19.

⁵⁸ Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, p. 241.

⁵⁹ Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, 1, 641.

I will [the children] were taught allwaies the good lytterature both laten and greeke, And good Aucthours such as have the veraie Roman eloquence Joyned with wysdome specially christyane Aucthours that wrote their wysdome with cleane and chaste laten eyether in verse or in prose. [...] I will the children lerne [...] Institutum christiani hominis that lerned Erasmus made And then Copie of the same Erasmus Colloquia Erasmis Ovidius Methamorphoseis Terence Mantuan Tullye Horace Saluste Virgill and such other as shalbe thought moost convenient to the purpose unto true laten speche All barbary all corrupcion and fylthynes and such abusion which the blinde worlde brought in I utterlye abanysshe and exclude out of this schoole and chardge the maister that hee teache alwaie that is beste and reade to them such aucthours as have with wysdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence. ⁶⁰

Sir John Deane's charged rhetoric in favour of a Christian pedagogy might have comforted parents but posed problems for the schoolmaster. By the end of the sixteenth century, according to one estimate, there were close to one thousand printed editions and commentaries on Terence. 61 Yet of all the available editions in use in England, very few were expurgated, these being more likely to be found on the Continent where the Jesuits issued expurgated texts for classroom use following the wishes of their founder, Ignatius Loyola, who, according to his biographer, forbade the teaching of Terence unless thoroughly expurgated. 62 In the literally hundreds of commentaries on Terence published during the sixteenth century, most editors did not attempt to censor the work and were at pains to stress the moral significance and utilitas of the poet. Philipp Melanchthon, who established a professorship in Terence at the university of Wittenberg in the early 1500s, was especially emphatic on the matter of moral utilitas in Terence. He exalts the poet as an author 'of more benefit for the forming of judgment on common morals than numerous commentaries of the philosophers', and he praises Erasmus, the 'Supreme Ruler of Letters', for his understanding of Terence. Once again, the name of Erasmus is drawn in for support. 63

Yet by the turn of the century the demand for expurgated editions in England was clearly there, given that the first Christianized version, *Terentius Christianus* (London[?], 1595) by Cornelius Schonaeus, went through nine editions by 1635. In a Latin epistle to the reader in the 1601 London edition, the editor comes straight to the point:

⁶⁰ Cox, A History of Sir John Deane's Grammar School, pp. 299–300.

⁶¹ Robbins, Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, p. vi.

⁶² McPherson, 'Roman Comedy in Renaissance Education', p. 27.

⁶³ Robbins, Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, pp. 15, 22–24, 32.

The style of Terence is pure; the matter very often impure. And no wonder: what else can be expected from a Pagan ignorant of the fountain of purity, the One True God? The learned Schonaeus therefore created works in which for the sake of Christian youth he has clothed chaster matter in the vestments of pure Terentian phrases, so that young people can imbibe elegant style along with sanctity and probity of manners.⁶⁴

Schonaeus drew his stories from the Bible while employing the phrases and elegance of Terence. In 1598, a powerful defence of Terence uncensored came out in the form of a bilingual Latin/English edition of the plays, and this too proved popular. In the dedicatory epistle, the author, Richard Bernard, puts the case for the standard *utilitas* of Terence by setting it against a background of general misuse:

That in telling the truth by these figments [of character] men might become wise to avoid such vices, and learne to practise virtue: which was Terence purpose in setting of these comedies forth in latin, mine in translating them into English; & this end I desire you to propound to your selves in reading them, so shall you use them, & not as most doe such autors, abuse them.

Interestingly, Bernard was a Puritan minister who was not about to let vulgar schoolboy humour justify the excision of Terence from the curriculum, and it seems many agreed with him since he continued to publish further editions.⁶⁵

Performing Terence in Tudor Grammar Schools

Sixteenth-century commentators were neither dramatists nor dramaturges. Their primary purpose was to exploit comedy for its ability to instruct rather than entertain, and for its usefulness in the study of character, following the example set by Erasmus for distinguishing character types in Terence.⁶⁶ Sixteenth-century

⁶⁴ Terence, *Ad usum scholarum seorsim excusa* (1595), image 2: 'In Terentio est pura oratio: materia vero vt plurimum impura: nec mirum. Quid enim aliud à misello ethnico, verum Deum veræ puritatis fontem ignorante expectare possis? Operæ pretium itaque fecit Schonæus, vir doctissimus, qui in gratiam Christianæ pueritiæ materias castiores pura Terentij phrasi vestivetit, vt pueritia unà cum orationis elegantia, morum quoque sanctitatem & probitatem imbiberet.' English translation by McPherson, 'Roman Comedy in Renaissance Education', pp. 23–24.

⁶⁵ Terence, *Terence in English*; see McPherson, 'Roman Comedy in Renaissance Education', p. 22. By the time Bernard died in 1641 he had published five further editions: 1598, 1607, 1614, 1629, and 1641: see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Matthew, Harrison, and Goldman, p. 238.

⁶⁶ Robbins, Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, pp. 92–93.

schools on the other hand, were heavily indebted to drama as a tool for teaching boys the highly prized rhetorical arts of *actio* (action, gestures), *pronunciatio* (elocution), and *prosopopoeia* (personation), and many schoolmasters undoubtedly saw themselves as drama directors also. The plays of Terence were not only read and studied by schoolboys, they were also performed by them, both in class and out of it. School drama was integral to the grammar school programme.⁶⁷

School statutes provide ample evidence of the importance of the performing arts in Tudor schools. They frequently identify a dialogue or piece of drama in the teaching of oratory, such as those at Ruthin Grammar School which require that 'when the Master is come to School he shall hear his Scholars rehearse an Act out of Terence's Comedies or Plautus whom I require to be instructed by the Master'.68 School drama from around the mid-century period gives some idea of how different schools handled the ideological debate. At Westminster, for example, around 1545, Alexander Nowell used the prologues to performances of Terence to argue the edifying content of comedy. 69 Some schools produced their own vernacular plays in the style of Terence, such as *July and Julian*, a 1560s school play located in England which eschews any religious reformist purpose and which deviates very little in terms of plot and character from Terence; the father is even named Chremes. This English version of Terence is of particular interest because it depicts an illiterate, often drunk father with few skills who has to rely on his wife to run the house and family and on his son to act as his secretary. In Terence, mothers play only minor roles, but here the mother plays the major parental role in disciplining the children, supervising the servants, determining the action, and running an efficient household.⁷⁰ There is evidence to suggest the play was written for a cathedral school, which makes the play's secular status contrast sharply with the Christianized Terence prodigal son plays of the era such as Nice Wanton (1547–60), The Disobedient Child (c. 1559–70), Misogonus (c. 1571), or The Longer thou Livest (1559). These plays rewrite the domestic moral dilemmas of Terence as grim struggles between the forces of good and evil for the possession of the young man's soul.⁷¹ They may have appeared

⁶⁷ Potter, 'Performing Arts in the Tudor Classroom', pp. 159–60.

⁶⁸ Sylvester, *Educational Documents*, p. 14.

⁶⁹ Miola, Shakespeare and Classical Comedy, p. 4.

⁷⁰ As this Chremes has none of the positive traits (soberness, wisdom, carefulness) attached to his namesake in Terence, it seems the dramatist/schoolmaster was exploiting the students' familiarity with Terence for the benefit of ironic humour, after the fashion of Erasmus. See Potter, 'Cockering Mothers and Humanist Pedagogy', pp. 267–68.

⁷¹ Robbins, Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, p. 36.

reformist schoolmasters or school governors but they must have been a sore disappointment to the boys, and surely to many in the school audience. As Erasmus repeatedly pointed out, unless boys were interested in and entertained by the material they studied, they were unlikely to make good students. This may well be precisely the argument intended by a play written for school performance which at first glance seems to conform to reformist pedagogy, but whose parodic tone, on closer inspection, suggests just the opposite.

The play in question is George Gascoigne's *The Glasse of Government* (1575), which the author announces he has written according to certain Puritan principles dictated to him by one C.B. (Christopher Barker). These principles — honour and obey God, King, magistrates, parents, and elders — are then explicated at (often tedious) length in the play by Gnomaticus, the schoolmaster. It seems fairly certain that Gascoigne did not expect this play to be performed in public. It is annotated as if it were a text for study and contains a number of homilies. Despite calling the play a comedy, Gascoigne wrote very little humour into it; indeed the prologue explicitly announces that those expecting to hear 'a worthie jest' or 'An Enterlude [that] may make you laugh your fill' might as well exit now, because here they will find:

No *Terence* phrase: his tyme and myne are twaine: The verse that pleased a *Romaine* rashe intent Might well offend the godly Preachers vayne. Deformed shewes were then esteemed muche, Reformed speeche doth now become us best.⁷²

Gascoigne's own blackened reputation was in dire need of recuperation; one petition against him describes him as a 'defamed person and noted as well for manslaughter, as for other greate crymes', as well as being 'a common rymer [he was a prolific poet] and a diviser of slaunderous pasquelles [...] a notorious ruffiane and especialle noted to be both a spie, an atheist, and godlesse personne'. He was deeply in debt, in royal disfavour, and desperate for patronage. He now professes to show himself a reformed man.

The play is set in Antwerp and deals with two sets of brothers who have just completed their grammar schooling and whose fathers have put them under the care of Gnomaticus, an elderly tutor who is to prepare them for university (Douai). The specific complaint about their grammar schooling is the 'absence

⁷² Gascoigne, *The Glasse of Government*, ed. by Cunliffe, p. 6.

⁷³ Young, 'The English Prodigal Son Plays', p. 128.

of God's word' and the lack of 'holesome' moral instruction.⁷⁴ The two younger boys are models of virtue, but are intellectually less gifted than their older brothers. They obediently and conscientiously follow their tutor's moral and religious lessons, diligently attend university, and eventually reap their public rewards with exalted positions in strict Calvinist Geneva and Heidelberg. The two brighter elder brothers find the teaching method boring and the content uninspiring. They are easily distracted by riotous male company and Lamia, a young girl from Valencia, who is escaping a cloistered lifestyle under her mother in favour of a more liberal life with her aunt in Antwerp. The naming of Valencia immediately draws attention to Vives (also known as Valentino or El Gran Valenciano), whose ideas on the education of girls are canvassed in the play. True to pattern, the older boys' prodigal ways lead to their deaths, one for robbery and one for fornication, and the girl, her aunt, and their male companions are punished severely by the local magistrate.

There is little doubt that the play is a concession by Gascoigne to those who would purge English grammar schools of Terence and the creative content he brings to the curriculum. All four boys in the play have already enjoyed a secular grammar school education and the play specifically mentions that they are familiar with the *Colloquies* of Erasmus and the comedies of Terence. The newly appointed tutor responds that despite some moral instruction in Terence, the true Christian must direct his steps by the word of God, not the wanton discourses of Terence. He lectures the boys at length on the theme of moral obedience and duty (these lectures run to about 2500 words), leading the boys to mutter that this teaching is 'unpleasant in comparison to Terences comedies' and the previous authors they studied.⁷⁵ Indeed, any boy studying this play would undoubtedly have agreed with them, and this is surely what the play's underlying lesson is intended to convey.

Other critics have tended to take the play at face value as support for Reformation-minded educators. Linda Bradley Salamon has made a credible case for reading Roger Ascham's pedagogical techniques and values behind the play; she concedes that the 'sermonizing, mechanical *Glasse* undeniably has its longueurs' and classifies it as 'an attempt to give literary shape in English to Christian humanism at its most basic level', but she also acknowledges that 'the iron law inherent in the outcome of the play is neither Christian nor very Terentian'. Alan Young

⁷⁴ Gascoigne, *The Glasse of Government*, ed. by Cunliffe, pp. 17 and 68.

 $^{^{75}}$ Gascoigne, The Glasse of Governement, ed. by Cunliffe, pp. 16–17 and 34.

⁷⁶ Salamon, 'A Face in *The Glasse*', pp. 48, 70.

initially approaches the play as a sincere attempt by a contrite and reformed Gascoigne to use the Terentian form for Christian ends. Young notes various features of the play that support this view, but he then points to evidence that could indicate a satirical take by Gascoigne, in particular the locations in the play and their religious affiliations, which offer some cause for rethinking Gascoigne's political intentions. These include Antwerp and Geneva as locations of punishment for the two prodigals, both of which were strongholds of Calvinism; also the previous employment of the schoolmaster by a known Catholic family, and finally the fact that the schoolmaster 'habitually recommends his youthful charges to the University of Douai, founded in 1562 by Philip II, and a bulwark of Roman Catholicism at the time Gascoigne was fighting for the Prince of Orange'. Young cautiously poses the question as to whether Gascoigne could be 'mounting an attack in this work on those Puritanical tendencies of his age which had, during his lifetime and particularly on his return from the Netherlands, caused him so much trouble with his writings?"

I believe that this is precisely what Gascoigne was doing. Under pretence of an attack on Terence, the symbol of the secular curriculum of English grammar schools, Gascoigne provides instead a mirror — The Glasse — of what happens when classroom content and pedagogical techniques are appropriated for zealous moral and religious ends, regardless of whether they are Calvinist, Puritan, or Catholic. The play embraces all religious categories that seek to censure and control. When Salamon explicates the play in terms of Ascham's pedagogical theories, she fails to mention the fact that those of Vives, a converso Jew turned zealous Catholic, are equally pertinent, and that the inclusion in the play of a girl from Valencia who follows the route to damnation Vives warns of in *Instruction* of a Christian Woman suggests an obvious parody. Similarly, albeit less directly, the play seems to caricature Thomas Becon's Catechism (1560), with its lengthy exhortations to schoolmasters to read to their scholars 'some godly and learned catechism', its obsessions with civil obedience, and its condemnation of schools that 'continually nousled [children] in reading and learning heathen and pagan writers of whom many times is drunken in more wickedness than godliness.⁷⁸ We do not know how 'C.B.' received the Glasse of Government, but it would not have served the moral education of his boys nearly as well as the intelligently explicated study of a comedy by Terence. Certainly, from an English schoolboy's point-of-view, it presents a dreary and ominous picture of what happens when censorship and reformist policies control education.

 $^{^{77}\,}$ Young, 'The English Prodigal Son Plays', p. 138.

⁷⁸ Becon, *The Catechism*, ed. by Ayre, pp. 378, 88–94, 350.

Erasmus would have objected strenuously to such arid substitutes for Terence, but the pedagogical climate was changing. In the 1580 statutes for Sandwich Grammar School, the comedy or tragedy to be played at Christmas was to be of 'chaste *matter* in Latin'. Compare this with the demand for 'chaste laten' specified earlier in the statutes for Sir John Deane's School. Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* (1580) also responds to this changing climate, deploring the devaluing of poetry and the delight it brings to the classroom, replaced with heavy-handed morality plays. By the end of the century Udall's *Floures of Terence* was no longer being reprinted, supplanted by Cicero's epistles (just as Ascham had wished). Within a few years, both Terence and Erasmus were to lose their prime positions in the English grammar schools under the influence of Puritan educators such as John Brinsley. Vives, on the other hand, gained in Puritan education circles. In 1633 when William Prynne published his attack on ungodly authors in the curriculum (*Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scourge or Actors Tragedie* [London, 1633]), he cited Vives as his authority for objecting to Terence:

Sundry men of note in our memorie also, not only among professors of purer religion, but even among the Papists, have advised schoolmasters & instructors of youth either not to read Terence to their scholars, or if they will read him, not to read him all. *Ludovicus Vives* [...] doth wish [the purging of] Terence in speciall for those things which might defile the mindes of children.⁸³

By the late seventeenth century, St Paul's School had dropped Terence altogether and even marginalized Erasmus, his great defender, on the curriculum with nothing but the *Colloquies* remaining. ⁸⁴ The *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* of Vives, on the other hand, remained firmly on the curriculum well into the twentieth century. The piety of Vives prevailed in the end, but not before Erasmus had held it at bay long enough to allow Elizabethan drama to flower under the influence of the pagan poet Terence.

⁷⁹ Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, p. 319; my italics.

⁸⁰ Sidney, 'Defence of Poetry', pp. 83, 93, 107.

⁸¹ Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, 11, 263; 1, 642.

⁸² Brinsley, *Ludus literarius*, ed. by Campagnac. Brinsley's concern was with providing a more functional, vernacular education in grammar schools, rather than inspiring a love of literature or eloquent Latin.

⁸³ Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, 1, 114.

⁸⁴ Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 1, 120.

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POETIC TECHNIQUE AND THE LIBERAL ARTS IN THE LAY SCHOOLROOM: THE SINGSCHULE ('SINGING SCHOOL') OF THE GERMAN MASTERSINGERS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Brian Taylor

he origin of the mastersingers is obscure, but they seem to have developed first in the fourteenth century from individual poets of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, such as Heinrich von Meißen, whose pen name, Frauenlob, could mean either 'praise of women' or 'praise of our Lady', and Heinrich von Mügeln, who flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century. These poets, clearly well educated in classical learning and often referring to themselves and their fellows as 'meister', that is, 'master', were amongst the last of the court poets and composed, among other genres, a type of song called by modern scholars the *Sangspruch*, which I translate as the 'sung stanza', for want of a better term. The *Sangspruch* was a song of a single stanza in *canzone* form, that is, it consisted of two opening parts that had the same rhyme, metre, and musical structure (which later mastersinger terminology called *Stollen*, which I translate as 'doorposts') which together constituted the *Aufgesang* ('upsong' or 'ascent'), and then a third part with a different structure called the *Abgesang* ('downsong' or 'descent').

¹ Frauenlob's *Marienleich* is a poem of over five hundred lines in praise of the Virgin. See Newman, *Frauenlob's Song of Songs*, which is essentially a Middle High German-English bilingual edition of the poem. The two possible meanings of the ambiguous 'performance name' Frauenlob are inferable from Chapter 1 of Newman's commentary (pp. 43–62).

Once the courts had tired of these sorts of poets and their particular type of works, their successors became, it seems, poets who, instead of moving from court to court, moved rather from town to town in search of other clients for their works. By the middle of the fourteenth century they had begun to expand the monostanzaic Sangspruch physically and thematically by linking individual sung stanzas of similar content together to form songs of several stanzas, and then to compose integrated songs, almost always of an odd number of stanzas — three, five, seven, or sometimes nine — the stanzas each having the same *can*zone structure. These polystanzaic songs they called a bar (the word liet, which later became the word for 'song', usually only meant 'stanza' before the sixteenth century). They were always sung solo, never with instrumental accompaniment, and were always constructed and sung to a particular *Ton*, as they called it. The Ton or 'air', as one American scholar has referred to it, 2 was a combination of rhyme, metric structure, and melody, and bore a title consisting of its inventor's, or notional inventor's, name and a further element indicating something about it, such as 'long', 'short', 'courtly', 'gentle', as, for example, 'Frauenlobs Langer Ton' (Frauenlob's Long Air) or 'Konrad von Würzburgs Hofton' (Konrad von Würzburg's Courtly Air).

These, then, were the characteristics of the phenomenon the mastersingers called 'meistersanc', or more usually 'meistergesang' (mastersong), with the word 'Meisterlied' later being used to refer to the individual song. The word 'meistersanc' is first recorded in the Jenaer Liederhandschrift (Jena Song Manuscript, Jena, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS El. f. 101) of around 1330 in a sung stanza by Hermann Damen (¹Damen/2/3),³ who flourished in the last third of the thirteenth century. It is generally accepted that the practitioners of this art called themselves 'mastersingers' and their art 'mastersong' because they regarded themselves as masters of the seven liberal arts.⁴

² See von Kies, review of Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich Mügeln und Hans Sachs*, p. 463. Taylor, *The Literary History of Meistergesang*, p. 54, discusses the meaning of *Ton* but offers no English translation for it.

³ Such references to sung stanzas and mastersongs are those now normally used by researchers and are based on the *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder*, ed. by Brunner and Wachinger. This very large reference work, whose title is normally abbreviated to RSM, lists every single one of the 17,500 or so surviving songs with its manuscript or other source, its author (where known), its *Ton*, contents, various versions, and any scholarly editions or studies, along with other information. A guide to interpreting RSM references such as ¹Damen/2/3 is found in vol. III, pp. ix–xi. In the present case: superscript ¹ indicates a pre-Reformation origin, 'Damen' indicates that the *Ton* is attributed to Hermann Damen; the first number, full-size 2, indicates which of his airs it is, and the next number, reduced 3, which song it is in that particular air.

⁴ 'In der *meisterlichen* Dichtung wird immer wieder vorausgesetzt, man müsse die Freien

At the time when wandering singers were finding it difficult to make a living from their verses by offering their services around aristocratic venues such as princely courts, artisans in the towns were beginning to grow prosperous and looking for the opportunity to obtain education for themselves and avenues for entertainment. The two groups found each other, with the 'singing masters' ('sengermeister') teaching the artisans how to compose and sing mastersong and the artisans paying them for it. This is doubtless the origin of the *Singschule*, the singing school of the mastersingers.⁵

The matter of whether the term *Singschule* referred to an organization or society of singers for the purposes of teaching and performance, or only a single meeting for singing (therefore a type of concert), has been much discussed in the literature. Against some earlier scholars, both Horst Brunner and Christoph Petzsch have concluded that before about the middle of the sixteenth century amongst the mastersingers it referred rather than to any formal organization, only to singing sessions held singly, although it did later sometimes have the former sense. Frieder Schanze, on the other hand, in his investigation into the origin of the Nuremberg society, is quite happy to use the term in the meaning of an organization.

If the *Singschule*, whether a one-off concert or an organization, did function as some sort of lay classroom, where might it have been located? For the early period we have no record of location, but detailed records kept by later societies, especially that in Nuremberg, reveal that serious singing was usually done in often deconsecrated churches. Singing did sometimes, however, take place in secular public spaces, for example the town hall, while the *Zechsingen*, singing over drinks, which often involved the singing of ribald songs, mostly took place in an

Künste beherrschen, um als Dichter erfolgreich auftreten zu können' (In the poetry of the 'masters' it is again and again presupposed that one must have mastered the liberal arts in order to be able to appear successfully as a poet); see Stackmann, 'Quaedam poetica', p. 224. All translations from the German are mine.

- ⁵ The best and most recent detailed account of the emergence of the mastersingers and their societies is the concluding chapter, Schanze, 'Zu einer historischen Typologie der Gattung'.
 - ⁶ Brunner, *Die alten Meister*, pp. 14–24; Petzsch, 'Singschule'.
- ⁷ 'Unter "Singschule" verstehe ich hier nicht die Gesangsveranstaltung der Meistersinger, sondern die "organisierte" Gruppe von Meistersingern, die "Meistersingergesellschaft" mit eigener "Verfassung" als den Träger der Gesangsveranstaltung' ('By "Singschule" I mean here not the singing session of the mastersingers, but the "organized" group of mastersingers, the "society of mastersingers" with its own "constitution" as the bearer of the singing session'); Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst*, 1, 381. Schanze's book developed from his collaboration on the pre-Reformation section of the RSM.

inn. Since pre-Reformation mastersong included a large proportion of religious songs, one can perhaps extrapolate backwards and assume a church or some other ecclesiastical property as the most likely location.

The earliest collections of mastersongs are in manuscripts dating from around 1430, with the most famous early collection being that in the Colmar Manuscript (Kolmarer Liederhandschrift, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cgm [Codex germanicus] 4997) of around 1460 (some ten years earlier than previously thought),9 which contains about 850 folios. In their contents and use of certain technical terminology, they provide evidence for the fact that it was during this century that the *Singschule* as a form of one-off competitive concert developed.

There is other good external evidence that very likely by the late fifteenth century, the mastersingers had formed themselves into guild-like bodies which they mostly referred to as *Gesellschaft der Meistersinger* (society of mastersingers), which met more or less regularly for singers to compete with each other in singing sessions. Perhaps as early as the 1490s in Strasbourg, ¹⁰ but certainly by the first decades of the sixteenth century, there were societies of mainly artisan mastersingers in numerous south German and Austrian towns, with Nuremberg coming to be generally the most admired, thanks largely to the reputation of the highly prolific cobbler-mastersinger, author of poems in rhyming couplets, and playwright Hans Sachs (1494–1576).

In 1517/18, when he was still a young man, Sachs compiled a significant manuscript of almost 480 folios (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS mgq 414), which constitutes a treasure-trove of pre-Reformation mastersong surpassed only by the Colmar Manuscript. Sachs himself converted to the Reformation around 1520 and through the Nuremberg society and its prestige and his own, he put such a strong Lutheran imprint on mastersong that scholars regard post-Reformation mastersong as a completely new phase in the practice

⁸ For the seventeenth century there are surviving pictorial representations of locations for serious singing. See Bell, *Meistersingerschule at Memmingen*, p. 88, a 1615 picture from the *Stammbuch* (album) of the society now in the Memmingen City Archives; and Hahn, *Meistergesang*, front cover in colour and again on p. 29 in sepia, a 1637 picture in stained glass from Nuremberg and now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum there.

⁹ See Schanze, Meisterliche Liedkunst, 1, 35–55, especially p. 48.

¹⁰ See Taylor, 'Die verschollene Strassburger Meistersinger-Tabulatur von 1494'. Schanze suspects, though without clear documentary evidence, that in Nuremberg moves towards the creation of institutional forms amongst the mastersingers ('zur Bildung institutioneller Formen unter den Meistersingern') may have occurred already in the first half of the fifteenth century: see Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst*, 1, 381–82.

of the art. Previously there had been competing traditions about the use of *Töne* (airs), with the traditionalists insisting on the use of only those airs attributed to the *Zwölf alte Meister* (Twelve Old Masters), twelve medieval and late medieval poets whom they saw as the founding fathers of their art, while others, namely those in Nuremberg, allowed composers of songs to invent their own airs and use those as well as the old ones. With the ascendancy of Sachs and his colleagues, the Nuremberg practice became the norm. Before the Reformation, religious topics in mastersong had, of course, been Catholic. With the conversion of Sachs and Nuremberg to Protestantism, mastersong, in the cities and towns of the southern and eastern German areas where it flourished, became largely a Lutheran phenomenon. This is pointed up quite strikingly by the fact that one of Sachs's early songs, 2S/29 in his *Silberweise* (Silver Air, *Weise* being an alternative term to *Ton*), began life in 1515 as a *Salve Regina*, a song to the Virgin, but by 1532 it appeared in one of his autographs as a song to Christ, with the vocative 'Regina' replaced by 'Rex Christe'.

Because their monophonic, unaccompanied singing no longer appealed to the general public, especially with competition from polyphonic and instrumental music, and because most of their compositions had deteriorated into wooden paraphrases of the Lutheran Bible, but also because of the effects of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years War, the societies of mastersingers began to die out by the late seventeenth century. However, a couple, those in Ulm and Memmingen, lived on in name into the nineteenth century. The Memmingen society, the last founded in 1600, was by the nineteenth century made up only of a small group of men clad in black garments who accompanied the funerals of the poor to the cemetery singing a vestige of a mastersong, which a contemporary journalist described as *Gekrächze* ('cawing' or 'croaking'). The Society lasted until 1875, and the last surviving member, Friedrich Hummel, did not die until 1922. In one sense, therefore, mastersong must have had just about the longest unbroken existence of any European literary genre.¹³

While the names of authors of post-Reformation mastersongs have come down to us attached to their compositions, very often along with the date of composition or at least of the first performance, in the case of pre-Reformation

¹¹ See Hahn, Meistergesang, pp. 61-73.

 $^{^{12}}$ The superscript 2 in this RSM reference normally refers to post-Reformation mastersongs, but since Sachs is the key figure in sixteenth-century mastersong — indeed mastersong in general — and straddles the change from the pre- to post-Reformation period, all his songs are thus prefixed.

¹³ See Bell, Meistersingerschule at Memmingen, pp. 3-4, and plate 4, p. 90.

compositions, apart from those in autograph collections (of, for example, Michel Beheim and Hans Folz), this is seldom so, as most are anonymous in the mixed anthologies. This can make dating difficult. Because of the distinct break in the mastersong tradition that occurred with Sachs, and for reasons of space, I will confine myself in this chapter largely to pre-Reformation mastersong.

We can now progress to seeing what the early mastersingers and their predecessors the *Sangspruchdichter*, the poets of the sung stanza, did with the *artes* in their compositions. In the Manesse Manuscript of the University of Heidelberg Library (Heidelberg, Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg, MS Cpg 848), which is also known as the Great Heidelberg Song Manuscript (die Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift), and which is famous for its stylized portraits of German poets of the High Middle Ages, there are three stanzas by a contemporary of Frauenlob, namely Regenbogen (¹Regb/1/2-4), whom the mastersingers of later centuries considered one of their founding Twelve Masters. In the first stanza he lists five of the seven liberal arts, intermixing the linguistic ones of the trivium with the mathematical ones of the quadrivium, and describes the virtues they teach: logic correct thinking ('loyca rechten sin'), geometry dimensions or measuring ('jeometria mâsse'), and so on. In the second and third stanzas he says the remaining two, 'rethorica' and 'musica' (that is, one each from the trivium and quadrivium), are for him as a poet and singer the most important of the *künst*, the *artes*.

Already here, the classical forms of the names of the *artes* have become altered. As always among these poets, 'dialectica' has been replaced by 'logica', but in the form 'loica', a form already found, however, in Latin *Vitae* of the Carolingian period. ¹⁴ I will return to this term and form towards the end of the chapter. 'Geometria' is, as often, 'jeometrie'. Both this form and 'loica' suggest that palatalization of 'g' in the presence of a front vowel is responsible for the changes. 'Arithmetica' has become 'arismetica'. As the Germans of that day are hardly likely to have known the original Greek interdental pronunciation of 'th', but to have pronounced it simply as /t/ like other continental Europeans, the change here of 'th' to 's' may simply be due to what linguists call regressive dissimilation. ¹⁵ This will be discussed further below. These changes suggest the acquisition of these terms from an oral source, rather than a written one, although whether the author or the scribe is responsible for the forms cannot usually be determined.

 $^{^{14}}$ See Quadlbauer, $\it Die$ antike Theorie der genera dicendi, pp. 24–26.

¹⁵ See Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 'regressive: [...] a sound changes because of [a] following sound' (p. 295) and 'dissimilation: A general term [...] to refer to the influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another, so that the sounds become less alike, or different' (pp. 108–09).

In Heinrich von Mügeln, who is attested as being at the court of Emperor Charles the Fourth in 1346 and who died in 1371, we encounter a poet of considerable classical learning, who, amongst other things, made translations of Valerius Maximus. One series of fifteen stanzas (¹HeiMü/281–95a) which he composed in his *Hofton* (courtly air), deals respectively with each of fifteen *artes*. In this Heinrich clearly superseded the seven *artes* delineated by Martianus Capella, probably in the early fifth century.¹⁶ And at the end of each stanza Heinrich links the art in question to what, or rather to whom, he calls the 'beste meister', so for grammar it is Priscian, for logic Aristotle, for rhetoric Cicero ('Tulius'), for arithmetic Pythagoras, for geometry Euclid, for music Boethius, for astronomy Ptolemy, for alchemy Geber, for philosophy Plato, for perspective Alhazen, for physic/medicine Galen, for theology Augustine, for necromancy Nectanebus, for pyromancy Hermogenes, and for geomancy Hermes.¹⊓

Subsequently Heinrich produced a Latin version of his original German composition (¹HeiMü/411), which bears the following superscription in the early fifteenth-century manuscript that we have it in: 'Sequitur hic prosa de gramatica sicud composuit Magister heinricus Muglini' ('Here follows prose on the subject of grammar as composed by Master Heinrich von Mügeln'). Why 'prosa'? Because this time Heinrich had furnished his audience not just with a series of stanzas, but in the fifteen sections into which this Latin work is divided, he gives the content of his original German stanzas first in prose, next in stanzaic form, and third in hexameters! Another poem (¹HeiMü/500) in Heinrich's *Langer Ton* (Long Air), in Heidelberg, Bibliotheken der Universität Heidelberg, Cpg 693 from around 1400, is similar to ¹HeiMü/281–95a in the way it deals with the *artes*, but this time it covers only the seven arts as outlined in Martianus Capella: grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, all of which are linked with the same respective *meister* as in the previous poem.

Karl Stackmann, the foremost authority on Heinrich von Mügeln, asks when the *artes* might have become attached to *meisterliche Kunst*, the art of the Masters, and argues that this connection probably occurred around the middle of the fourteenth century in Prague, since it was very likely then and there that Heinrich's various poems about the *artes* came into being. Stackmann suggests that this tran-

¹⁶ For a discussion of Martianus Capella's dates see Stahl, 'The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella', pp. 12–16.

 $^{^{17}}$ The superscription above the series goes: 'Hie wil der meister sagen von allen frienn künsten | vnd was der gemeine sin sie in allen kunsten vnd wil die meister der kunste mit namen alle nennen | [...]' ('Here the master is going to speak of all the liberal arts | and what the sense common to all the arts is and is going to name all the masters of the arts by name | [...]').

sition of scholarly knowledge from Latin to vernacular text is reminiscent of texts that were used to educate clerics, that is, at a tertiary or university level. He also ventures the opinion that other very early songs in German on the *artes* were likewise probably composed originally in the two languages as scholarly teaching aids ('gelehrte Unterrichtshilfen'). However, as freestanding poems they became for the 'masters' more an end in themselves, and so slipped across from the sphere of the *artes* into that of the art of the 'masters'. We do not encounter amongst the successors of Heinrich von Mügeln classical erudition of the magnitude we find in him. Who, if anyone, was he trying to teach with these poems? Was it budding clerics? As he was a courtly poet, his teaching might have been aimed at an aristocratic audience rather than at members of any *Singschule* at this early stage.

An ecclesiastical poet, der Mönch von Salzburg (the Monk of Salzburg), who was writing at the court of Archbishop Pilgrim the Second of Salzburg in the latter half of the fourteenth century, has, in a poem on the Holy Ghost (¹Mönch/5/2a), seven lines of verse on the seven liberal arts in a context that otherwise deals with various seven-sets from Christian tradition, such as the seven sacraments, the seven seals of the Apocalypse, and the seven churches. However, there is not a great deal of opportunity here for anyone to learn much about the *artes*.

In the fifteenth century, in a manuscript from 1433/34 (Köln, Historisches Archiv, MS Cod. W* 8), we have a nine-stanza song by the poet Muskatblut (¹Musk/3/3a), who lived from about 1390 till perhaps 1458. In it he wants to put together for 'princes, lords and women and worthy priests' ('Ich wil ein krentzlin buwen | fursten heren vnd frauwen | vnd werder priesterschafft' (fol. 112¹)) a wreath of seven flowers, and whoever can name them will show himself to be a master. He then challenges the 'meister dichter', the master poets, to seek these seven (including *arsmetrica*), which are then dealt with individually in stanzas two to eight. Philosophy is described in stanza nine as 'the fount of the arts', or perhaps simply 'art' ('der kunste brunnen'), although it needs to be said at this point that in medieval German, the word 'kunst' (originally a noun related to the verb 'können', 'to be able, to know how to') could also mean, amongst other things, 'knowledge'.¹¹ As a further sign of his learning, the poet has scattered

¹⁸ Stackmann, 'Quaedam poetica', p. 227: 'Hier vollzog sich ein gleitender Übergang vom Bereich der Artes in den der Meisterkunst.'

¹⁹ See Goetze, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar*, p. 144, s.v. 'kunst'. The lemma 'kunst (lateinische)' ('Latin *kunst*') is glossed 'Gesäß', meaning 'backside', with the explanation 'Wortspiel zwischen lat. ars und mhd. ars', that is, a pun on the Latin word 'ars' and premodern German 'ars' (modern German 'Arsch'), 'arse'. It might be worth investigating whether this wordplay is to be found in any of the *artes* songs of the mastersingers, since so-called 'verborgene Kunst', hidden

Latin words and phrases through the song. In stanza three he refers to 'loica' as the companion of Alexander on his campaigns.

It is in the fifteenth century that we find clear signs of the development of *Singschulen*. Michel Beheim (1420–1479) was almost the last still able to earn his keep as a poet and singer at the courts of various aristocrats (although one of his patrons did send him off to fight as a soldier as well). However, he is not known to have ever had anything to do with a *Singschule*, even though he uses technical terminology that becomes typical of *Singschulbetrieb* (singing school activity). In an autograph manuscript of 1457 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliotheken, MS Cpg 312), we encounter over one of his songs (¹Beh/417a) the superscription: 'This tells of the seven liberal arts and what they contribute to composition' ('Dis saget von den siben freien kunsten waz die zu tichten dienn'). In it he represents the seven *artes* as the daughters of Philosophy and specifies what the contribution of each is.

In a manuscript from around 1460 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS cgm 1018), another song of nine stanzas (1 Frau/6/507), this time anonymous and so far unpublished, likewise deals with the seven arts as daughters of Philosophy (the word *kunst* and the names of the arts being grammatically feminine in German, as are ars and the equivalent names in Latin). Following an opening stanza, it treats each art together with its functions in the succeeding seven stanzas, and reprises them all briefly in the ninth, where they are referred to as 'fatherless'. The functions are expressed along these lines: 'Loyca' moves between the right and the wrong; it can try, or try out, what never was and nowhere is. Grammar is concerned with what is right and helps put ideas into words. Rhetoric can crown its words; whoever wants to 'dispute artistically', or perhaps 'knowledgeably, needs it. Arithmetica is given the form arismetrica, so is being attracted to a sense connected with measure or metre, although the examples given have no connection with this. Music helps one court the ladies, it teaches the playing of musical instruments and singing, and is revealed in the singing of birds at the seven hours of the day, namely the seven canonical hours for prayer from matins through to compline.

There is strong evidence that by 1460, the *Singschule* as a one-off meeting of interested parties has begun to take real shape. These interested parties were very possibly, even probably, wandering poets of some education and accomplishment and artisans looking to them for instruction in the art of singing, composition,

art as opposed to open art, is a feature of others of their songs. Examples include some songs by Michel Beheim, such as ¹Beh/298c, where he actually uses the word *verporgen* in a superscription with reference to this phenomenon.

and the content to put into their songs, an important part of which will have been the seven liberal arts. Thus songs like the foregoing may well have had the pedagogical aim of inculcating some basic theoretical knowledge of their functions.

The strongest evidence for progress in the development of the Singschule comes in that largest of all mastersinger manuscripts, the Colmar Manuscript, which was compiled around 1460. Many of its songs contain a wealth of the relevant technical terminology which shows that the meetings or concerts had reached a considerable stage of formalization, since there are clear references to competitive singing being judged by men called 'merker' (markers). For example, a set of three anonymous, so undatable, songs in Frauenlobs Vergessener Ton (Frauenlob's Forgotten Air), namely ¹Frau/7/508, 509, and 510 (which are socalled Straflieder, stylized challenges to other singers to outperform the author), makes reference to the 'merker', as well as alluding to 'in your singers' school ('in dîner singer schuole'), where, the challenger says, he would like to obtain 'your [sing.] arts chair/catheder' ('dîner künste stuole'); there are references as well to 'your [pl.] arts school' ('iuwer künste school'); and 'to my school fellows' ('minen schuolgesellen').20 However, to what extent this is evidence for the actual existence of schools and whether by 'arts' here is meant specifically the artes, is not absolutely certain.

There is also a great deal of technical terminology that appears later in the codified rules of the *Tabulatur* (the tablature), which defined the rules for composition and performance in the mastersinger societies of the next two centuries. The richest of these by far is an anonymous song (¹Frau/9/520a), which is, in terms of its virtuosity, a veritable tour de force. It is composed in *Frauenlobs Goldener Ton* (Frauenlob's Golden Air), boasts a very complex rhyme scheme over its twenty-verse stanza involving initial as well as end-rhymes, and even metapoetically describes its own metric and complex rhyme structure. In doing so it contains more technical poetological terminology than any other mastersong up to that time. As is to be expected, the Colmar Manuscript contains songs dealing with the *artes*. One of these (¹Marn/6/505), like some already discussed,

²⁰ The spelling of these examples is cited after the standardized Middle High German forms in the songs numbered XLI, XLII, and XLIII in the edition by Bartsch, *Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift*, pp. 310–14.

²¹ The most comprehensive overview of these so far is Taylor, 'Prolegomena to a History of the Tabulatur of the German Meistersinger'.

²² A diplomatic edition, with a translation into New High German, can be found in *Epochen der deutschen Lyrik*, ed. by Killy, II, *Gedichte*, *1300–1500*, ed. by Eva Kiepe and Hansjürgen Kiepe (1972), pp. 306–09.

deals with the seven *artes* as seven daughters, with the forms 'jeometry' and 'loyca' recurring here. The seven are considered as preconditions for 'tichten', 'singen', and 'sprechen', that is, for composing, singing, and speaking.

Another song of nine stanzas (¹Wartb/2/511) has a modest singer requesting that other singers not judge him too harshly but help him with their own artistic knowledge, on the grounds that he has not been to school much and has not mastered the seven arts. These are then listed; however, there are not seven listed, but nine, including 'philosophia', 'phisica', and 'alchemia', but not 'arithmetica'. So while there is an implicit plea for education here, the song does not seem to supply it, but seems rather to reveal the ignorance the singer lays claim to. This song is probably not to be taken at face value, but more likely represents a topos of the late Middle Ages connected with the *Wartburgkrieg*, the stylized battle at Wartburg Castle between various notable poets.²³

A further song (1Hardr/3/11), originally of five stanzas, which one can only describe as anti-artes, is also to be found in the Colmar Manuscript;²⁴ it may be by the poet Konrad Harder, who composed the *Ton* it is in and who flourished in the late fourteenth century. It is in the first person, and in the first stanza its narrator tells how he was standing by a grave in which lay the body of a dead master. From the corpse's mouth, from which had once issued many an artful song, there crawled worms, and the narrator thought: '[...] alas, where has now your masterly sound gone? What help is it to you that you often sat on the high chair [the catheder] and were measured as being so masterly? Oh, art has forgotten you. And of what use are all your arts to you now, which you often measured knowledgeably in masterly fashion?' ('[...]owe, wo ist nu hin din meisterlicher schal? | was hilffet dich, daz du dicke hast gesessen | uf hohem stul so meisterlich vermessen? | ach, kunst hat din vergessen! | waz helffent alle dine künst nu dich, | die du mit witzen dicke hast gemessen meysterlich?'). In stanzas two to four the names of the fifteen arts are listed with a note on each about its uselessness in the face of death, for example, Philosophy, which never yet left your heart [and] from which your artistic (or knowledgeable?) person had benefit in life, has let you perish

²³ A study of the relevant complex of poems from towards the end of the thirteenth century is to be found in Wachinger, *Sängerkrieg, Untersuchungen zur Spruchdichtung*, 'Erster Teil. Der "Wartburgkrieg", pp. 5–89.

²⁴ The version in the Colmar Manuscript, and in the Wilten Manuscript (München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS cgm 5198) of around 1500, actually has seven stanzas, whereas that in München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS clm 15133 of around 1400, has only five. The sixth and seventh stanzas, which are not relevant to the *artes* theme, are almost certainly later additions; see Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst*, 1, 272–73).

('Filosophia die hat dich gelaßen | sterben, di din hertz noch nie verließ | do von din künstenricher lip dez lebens hat genieß'); and Logic with great cunning was not able to resist awful Death nor convince him by disputation to let you live ('Von [= Vn?] loika mit listen grossen | dem argen dode mochte nit wider streben | noch vber disputieren nit, daz er dich liesse leben'); and as for what the art of Physic makes in the way of potions, that is of no help to you, for you are completely disdained ('Waz die kunst phisica gedrenckez machete | daz hilffet dich nit, wann du bist gar versmahet').²⁵ If the text is from Harder and Harder was, as Schanze suspects, a baker who, as evidence suggests, lived in Munich in the 1370s,²⁶ then this song might be interpreted as a practical layman's comment — serious or not — on the kind of 'useless' classical learning taught in the schools.

Approaching the sixteenth century, we find the relevant songs becoming shorter in some cases. In Trier, Stadbibliothek, MS 1032/1943 from around 1490/1500, there is an anonymous, and not very inspiring, three-stanza song (¹Regb/2/65) in which the poet first states his intention to praise the masters and to obtain praise himself with his singing. He expresses the hope that he will have the seven arts in his heart, and in stanzas two and three he lists them without any comment that is relevant to this chapter. In an anonymous nine-stanza mariological song (¹Röm/1/10) in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. IV. 228 from 1518/1522, the poet describes in detail a coat of damask and purple he wants to make for Mary, along with the colours, precious stones, etc. he wants to use. In stanza three he asks for help from Aristotle and astronomy, in four from Cicero and geometry, and in five from all seven *artes*. Oddly, in stanza seven he pleads for heavenly art because worldly art is deserting him.

We come now to some songs in the very large manuscript of pre-Reformation mastersongs that the young Hans Sachs compiled in 1517/18, namely Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS mgq 414 (earlier called MS Berlin germ. quart. 414). While Sachs seems to have made every effort to identify the authors of the songs in his anthology and records them there whenever he can, two of the following three *artes* songs remain anonymous.²⁷ The first of these songs (¹Folz/76a) is by Hans Folz, a barber-surgeon, mastersinger, playwright,

²⁵ Cited after Hübner, 'Das Deutsche im Ackermann aus Böhmen', pp. 308 and 309. As indicated above, the 'Von' (= 'of, from') would seem to me to have to be read as 'Vn', a manuscript abbreviation for 'vnd' (= 'and') to make sense.

²⁶ See Schanze, Meisterliche Liedkunst, 1, 263-66.

²⁷ Two of these songs, ¹Mülich/2/7 and ¹Kanzl/8/1, are the subject of an article by Sobel, 'Two Meisterlieder on the Seven Liberal Arts'.

and poet of verses in rhyming couplets, who came from Worms to Nuremberg where he received the rights of a citizen in 1459, became a leading figure in the society of mastersingers, and died in 1513. He presents the seven arts in seven stanzas, but links each to a heavenly body, a metal, a colour, and an exemplary master. For instance, grammar is linked with the sun, gold, yellow, and Priscillian [sic]; logic with Jupiter, lead (erroneously here for tin), blue, and Aristotle; through to astronomy, which is linked with Saturn, lead, black, and Ptolemy. What makes this song particularly interesting, however, is that in Folz's 1480/90 autograph manuscript (München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS cgm 6353), there is a concluding entry that long puzzled scholars. It reads:

The seven-stanza song was made and composed by Hans Foltz of Worms, barber in Nuremberg, for Jacob Bernhaupt, called Schwennter, presented to him with great favour and affection, though in return for his payment, and in the year 1496 was sung by the aforesaid Schwenter at the *Singschule* for [= to win] a jewel [= the first prize]. It is in the Unknown Air and tells of the seven liberal arts [and] of each its inventor, planet, colour, metal.²⁸

An American scholar, Frances H. Ellis, ultimately realized that this particular song must originally have followed on the next page of the manuscript, now lost.²⁹ Here we have a clear case of a more experienced and knowledgeable mastersinger assisting a less able one to appear at the *Singschule*, although in this case not by assisting him to compose a song of his own on the seven arts, but doing it for him out of kindness — while also charging him a fee. But there is nevertheless a sense here in which the *Singschule* is being used as a vehicle for educating a singer in classical content.

In the second song from Sachs's manuscript (¹Mülich/2/7), the anonymous author says he met in Paris a very learned master named 'Filossofey', who had a large head, deep eyes, a high forehead, and a long beard and termed himself 'a member of the seven arts' ('der siben künst ein glit'). He then passes on to the reader what the master told him about 'gramatica', 'retorica', 'loica', 'filossofey', 'jeametry', 'arsmetrica', 'musica', and 'astronamey'.

²⁸ 'Das gesi[l]bent par | ist durch Hannsen Foltzn vonn Wormbs Barbierern zu Nurmberg gemacht vnnd gedichtet Jacoben Bernhaubt Schwennter benannt | jme in grosser gunst vnnd liebe zugestellt | doch vmb sein darbezahlung vnnd ist jm 1496 Jarnn gesungen durch angezaigtenn Schwenternn auff der singeschul vmb ain klainoth | es ist jm vnbekannten thon vnd saget von den siben fryen kunsten jtlicher [= jglicher] Ir erfinder | Planeth | farb | methall'.

²⁹ Ellis, 'The Solution for the Enigmatic, Concluding Lines of the Munich Codex'. Ellis subjects the poem to a minute, especially linguistic, analysis.

The final song I wish to look at in Sachs's manuscript (¹Kanzl/8/1) is seven stanzas in length. After asking the Holy Ghost and God for help in composing this poem in stanza one, the author proceeds to tell his listeners in stanza two that 'gramatica' can dispute ('disputiren') by the skills of construing ('konstruiren'), governing ('reigiren'), and studying ('studiren'). In stanza three he adds that 'loica' talks crookedly and straight ('ir red ist krumm vnd schlecht'), speaks from out of a lawyer ('Sie spricht aus eim juristen gut'), and finally warns with respect to 'loica': woe to him who trusts it ('we dem der ir getrawt'). In stanza four he says that 'retorica' teaches Latin well or, perhaps, good Latin ('Retorica lert gut latein') and 'arismetrey' can count well ('die selb wol zellen kan'). In stanza five he notes that 'geamatrey' weighs various units of weight such as hundredweight and pound ('Sie wigt ein lot ein quinten/ ein zentner vnd ein pfunt'), and in stanza six that 'astronomey' knows the course of the stars ('sie [...] weis der sterne lauff') and is cognizant of the firmament ('Sie kent das firmamente'). Stanza seven observes that, through the playing of harps and strings, 'musica' liberates many ignorant (or simple?) hearts ('Durch harpffen vnd durch seittenspil | so freit sy thumer herczen vil') and brings joy to many a person ('Vil manchem freuden pringt').30

Of particular interest here is the way the names of the arts have continued to diverge from their Graeco-Latin forms, since these divergences may well point to oral/aural rather than written transmission of the terms. While some of the early masters may have had Latin, later aspirants to some classical learning were quite likely to have had to pick up Latin terms from only hearing them, either from oral instruction given by a 'master' or from songs heard sung at the *Singschule*. Such exposure to unfamiliar, especially foreign, vocabulary leads readily to the development of folk etymologies.

Those *artes* terms ending in *-ia* in Latin, in being assimilated to early German, dropped the inflectional ending *-a*, leaving a final long *-i*. The diphthongization of this monophthong [i:] at the end of such forms as 'filossofey' and 'astronomey' reflects the actual diphthongization that took place in Central German dialects between the Middle High German of the High Middle Ages and the Early New High German of the Early Modern Period.

'Arithmetica', which we saw above becoming in one song, possibly by regressive dissimilation, 'arismetica', then becomes in others 'arismetrica', so that it is seen now as having to do with measuring, which was of particular interest to the mastersingers, since one of their important tasks in composing and judging songs was to assess the metrical structure correctly. In the last song it goes through the notional intermediate stages of *arismetria and *arismetri (where the asterisk indicates a

³⁰ Citations are from my own transcriptions of the manuscript, fols 361^v-62^v.

form not actually attested in texts) and then undergoes diphthongization to produce 'arismetrey'. And in the second last song and some others, including ones not discussed here, it becomes through a kind of educated folk etymology 'ars metrica', so that it is explicitly the 'art of measuring', particularly of measuring meter. In one song not so far discussed (¹Ehrb/2/11) in a late manuscript, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliotheken, MS Cpg 680 of 1532/33, we find the form 'ars medrica', where the [t] of 'metrica' has undergone South German lenition to [d].

All this is evidence for my earlier observation that we have here oral rather than written exposure to the *artes* terminology. Further, the *Singschule* was probably used to inculcate at least a rudimentary knowledge of the functions and value of the various *artes*. In mastersongs of the post-Reformation period, on the other hand, there is an increasing tendency to make a sort of pious mention in passing of the seven arts in a type of song called by the mastersingers *schulkunst*, which literally means 'school art', but very likely originally meant 'school knowledge'.³¹ These are songs that were meant to give various sorts of information on the arts of composing and singing and often embodied in more or less detail the rules of the tablature, the code of poetic rules, but not usually anything detailed about the old seven liberal arts. This tentative conclusion, however, requires further research.

As a tangential coda to this paper, I would like to look again at the term 'loica'. In a couple of the poems we noticed that the art 'loica' was said to be duplicitous in various ways: it spoke crookedly and straight, it spoke what is right and what is wrong, it spoke like a lawyer, and it was not to be trusted. As it happens, this word also occurs in the manuscripts as the term for a type of song, a subgenre of the mastersong, that a colleague and I have researched.³²

All these songs swing between statements that seem at first blush heretical, but on another reading prove to be completely orthodox. This ambivalence is mostly due to the ambiguous position of a negative, usually 'nicht' (not). If it is read with the text to its left, it is heretical, but if read with the text to its right, it is orthodox. This was easy to do, on the one hand because of a level of syntactic flexibility in the German of the time, especially in verse, and on the other because in the earlier manuscripts the lines of verse are not set off from each other, but merely divided by an often faint virgula or slash. For example, the opening line from a *loica* song

³¹ I thus agree with Petzsch who says the word 'ist nicht gut anders zu verstehen als *kunst* (Wissen) von *schule* (Gesangsvortrag und allem dabei Relevanten)' ('is not well to be understood otherwise than as *kunst* [knowledge] of *schule* [singing/song performance and all that is relevant in the process of performance]'), Petzsch, 'Singschule', p. 413.

³² See Klesatschke and Taylor, 'Der Reiz des Verbotenen', pp. 487–503. Eva Klesatschke was one of the collaborators on the RSM.

in the Colmar Manuscript (¹KonrW/5/506) reads: 'Jvnck man hab got vor augen nicht | sprich ubel reynen wyben' ('Young man have God before [your] eyes not | speak evil to pure women'). This is heretical and immoral, of course, but if one moves the slash to before the negative 'nicht', then it becomes orthodox and moral, that is: 'young man, have God before [your] eyes | not speak evil to pure women'.

Of the eleven *loica* songs we were able to find in the manuscripts, all but two simply played around with one or other negative word in this way. This is a joke that wears rather thin in repeated examples. One anonymous enterprising poet used instead a variety of other types of equivocation, including lexical ambiguity of a kind no longer possible but readily available before the standardization of German took place and after various sound changes in the dialects had caused many words that were distinct in form in earlier stages to fall together as homonyms in Late Middle High German and Early New High German. One instance of this is in the following lines:

vnnd welcher wennt dz gottes Reych wert jmer der selb mus leyden große schwer er hat die hell erkorn.

This can be read as heretical: 'And whichever man imagines that God's kingdom will last forever | the same must suffer great woe | he has chosen Hell', where 'wennt' can be read as modern German 'wähnt', meaning 'imagines irrationally'. On the other hand, the lines can be read as orthodox: 'And whichever man perverts [the idea] that God's kingdom will last for ever | the same must suffer great woe | he has chosen Hell', where 'wennt' can be read as modern German 'wendet' with one of its early meanings of 'twists', 'perverts'. Thus the fork-tongued qualities attributed to *loica*, that is to dialectic or logic, as one of the *artes*, led to the development of this new subgenre of the mastersong. Of the eleven we found, most are pre-Reformation. The earliest Nuremberg tablatures even had a ban on their being sung in the normal *Singschule*. They had to be kept for the drinking session in the local inn afterwards.

The *Singschule*, then, whether as a series of concerts or as some sort of organization in the pre-Reformation period, can be seen as a kind of lay school that provided instruction outside the tertiary/clerical pattern, although, as we have seen with Heinrich von Mügeln, its instruction in the arts may have had its origin at this level. Unlike in the post-Reformation period, we have no manuscript material other than the songs themselves to give us much of an idea of how the seven liberal arts and other classical learning were taught to townsmen aspiring to some education. While the large pre-Reformation manuscripts such as the Colmar Manuscript or that of Hans Sachs were probably compiled for use as personal anthologies, as Schanze thinks, and so not necessarily intended for use in a

Singschule, they were doubtlessly compiled from earlier smaller manuscripts, now lost, that may well have been thus used.³³ Indeed, Schanze has demonstrated how a Hans Folz manuscript collection (München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS cgm 6353) of his own songs was put together from fascicles that must have circulated separately earlier.³⁴ These smaller manuscripts will have often contained songs intended to pass on in the Singschule the didactic structure of the seven liberal arts. But, as Stackmann points out, even in the very early period, knowledge of these arts had to share space with knowledge of aspects of religion, cosmology, and natural philosophy.³⁵ Certainly by the fifteenth century it had to share space with the mastersingers' own developing peculiar rules of their art that culminated in the various codes known later as the Tabulatur. Yet right into the period of decline in the seventeenth century, there were still passing references to the seven liberal arts in songs as well as in a strange ceremony that was controversial amongst the mastersingers themselves called the Freiung (literally 'freeing') which was supposed to free the candidate to teach others the art of mastersong.³⁶ This was almost entirely peculiar to Nuremberg. The applicant had, amongst other things, to answer a kind of catechism, a battery of questions, including one about the ways in which mastersong was different from other types of song. The correct answer required him to recite the rules of the Tabulatur. He was then asked where these rules derived from, and the answer required was that they derived from the Twelve Old Masters and the seven liberal arts — but by now, that was only paying the merest lip service to the artes.

³³ Schanze, Meisterliche Liedkunst, 1, 57.

³⁴ Schanze, Meisterliche Liedkunst, 1, 307–09.

³⁵ Stackmann, Frauenlob, Heinrich von Mügeln und ihre Nachfolger, ed. by Haustein, p. 225.

³⁶ See Taylor, 'Die Freiung der Meistersinger', p. 96.

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